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DOMINION ELECTION.

CAMPAIGN OF 1886.

Hon. Edward Blake's Speeches.

No. 8 (First Series).

General Railway Policy of Liberals. Canadian Pacific R. R. Matters. Sea of Mountains Slander Exploded. Kansas Slander Exploded.

NOTE.—See Inside Cover for List of Mr. Blake's Speeches in first Series. Apply to W. T. R. Preston, Reform Club, Toronto, for Copies of these Speeches.

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THE CANADIAN PACIFIC.

Policies of the Parties—Government Promises Unredeemed.

EXPECTATIONS UNFULFILLED.

A Hundred Millions of Expense Which Was Not to Have Been Incurred—
Not Half the Expected Immigration—Expenditure for Immigration Still Continued—Liberals Wish the Enterprise Well—The Government to Blame for Shortcomings.

At Newcastle Mr. BLAKE said :—

I desire to-night to say something to you on the subject of the Canadian Pacific Railway policy of the Government. That question is at this time, in one respect, in a new condition. The road is now open for traffic. Our controversies of the past as to the policy adopted by the Government cannot, of course, now change that policy. *The policy has been consummated*, and some of those who are now favourably disposed to our views upon the general questions, the living issues of the day, but who have supported

THE C. P. R. POLICY,

say : Why do you discuss that question now, for the affair is settled ? Well, now, I am not foolish enough to insist that anybody who agrees with me on the issues which remain for actual decision should change his mind, and agree with me on the Canadian Pacific Railway policy, in order to our acting together. There is a sense, as I have pointed out, in which it is a dead issue—with regard to which we can without difficulty agree to differ. The Liberal party, including the humble individual who now addresses you, wishes and has always wished well to the enterprise, although we have differed from the Government as to the methods to be adopted for its execution. *Canada has invested too much money, and has staked its future too deeply on the enterprise*, for us to entertain any other feeling than that of anxiety for its success.

NOR HAVE WE BLAMED THE COMPANY

for securing the most favourable conditions they could squeeze out of the Government, or for having made the use they thought most advantageous to themselves of the powers which from time to time, at the request of the Government, Parliament has yielded to them. The company was one party to the bargain, and it is not contrary to the usual ideas of right and fairness that they should ask for as much as they thought they could get, or perhaps a little more. But what we have disputed is the wisdom and policy of the other party to the bargain, of the party which acted as trustee for the people, of the Government and the Ministerial majority, in adopting certain methods, yielding certain conditions, and conceding certain powers. We have condemned their policy, and we have pointed out, as their proposals were laid before us, what we believed were its mistakes, what were the errors in their arguments and calculations, and what would be the wiser, the more prudent policy in the interest of the country. And now, when we are shortly once more to submit our course to the popular judgment, we must be permitted to discuss before the people the alternative views of the two great parties on this as on other questions. We must be permitted—if we believe, as we do still believe, that the policy of the Government was rash, erroneous, and blame-worthy, and that ours was wiser, more prudent, and judicious—to present those two policies, to state the arguments on each side, and to point out how far time and events have already

VERIFIED OUR VIEWS,

and falsified those of our opponents. We cannot, then, altogether set this aside as a dead issue, in the sense of agreeing that nothing should be said about it. It was, and is, a most important question, both in a financial and in a national point of view. Now, *one of your guides, in determining upon the choice of those who are to administer your public affairs, is a consideration of the mode in which those whom you have trusted have discharged their trust.* It is the account we give of our stewardship that should largely guide you; and, if in a great public question there has been an issue between the parties, it is not merely allowable, but it is the duty of the people to consider which of the two parties appears to have been the wiser and more faithful counsellor, and to be largely guided in their decision as to how they will trust in the future by the record of the past. Before the year 1878 *the policy of both parties in this country was that the Pacific Railway should be constructed after such a fashion as should not involve any further*

increase in the rate of taxation. That policy was early defined as their own by the Conservatives, when in power, though their plans did not consist with it; and it was afterwards defined as theirs by the Reformers, and, so far as the obligations

IMPOSED ON THE COUNTRY

by the Tories allowed, it was acted upon by them. A formal resolution to this effect was added to the vote of money for the Canadian Pacific Railway by an almost unanimous House, only eight or ten voting the other way, and this clearly proves my assertion that parties were then agreed upon this policy. At this time Mr. Mackenzie's policy was sometimes criticized, not because it was slow, cautious, and niggardly, but because it was too rapid, reckless, and expensive. I will read an extract from a pamphlet which did great duty for the Tories in the election of 1878—a pamphlet of speeches and letters by Sir David Macpherson, which was distributed broadcast throughout Canada as the Tory platform, and to which the Tories largely attributed their success in 1878.

SIR DAVID MACPHERSON SAID :

But surely the whole expenditure between Lake Superior and the Red River is premature and unwise. That section of the railway will cost not less than twenty millions of dollars; the interest will be one million of dollars a year, and with the loss in working the road, which I shall not venture to estimate, will amount to an enormous sum to be borne by the taxpayers of the Dominion. I may say my own opinion has always been that we should have been content for the time to use the United States lines for our all-rail route to Manitoba, and begin our Pacific Railway at Pembina, thence at Winnipeg and on through Manitoba and the North-West, combining with its construction a comprehensive and attractive scheme of immigration, under which immigrants would be assured of employment and land—employment first and land afterwards. The lands retained by the Government in the North-West, owing to the settlement of adjoining lands, would have been enhanced in value, and their sale would have provided funds to aid in extending the railway as required, without overburdening the Dominion Exchequer. In this way the C. P. R. east of the Rocky Mountains could have been built as fast as required for very little money, and our prairie country would have become quickly peopled. A similar course, as far as adaptable to British Columbia, might have been pursued in that Province, and when the Government decided to build the road as a public work no reasonable objection could be urged against the policy. Had it been followed the Dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would have been more prosperous than it is to-day. We should have been free from the heavy engagements that weigh upon us, and free, also, from the financial peril that stares us in the face—imminent if not inevitable. Our expenditure to this time upon the railway would have been comparatively small, and would increase only as might be convenient, for it would be subject to our control. As it is, the outlay in connection with the Pacific Railway, to the 30th of June, 1876, (according to the public accounts), amounts to the large sum of six million two hundred and fifty-four thousand, two hundred and eighty dollars.

There was the Tory platform of 1878. Then we come to 1880. Up to that time no person had ever proposed a larger expenditure in cash than \$30,000,000.

IN 1880 NEW PROPOSALS WERE MADE

for enormous public expenditures and very rapid construction. We opposed these proposals. Our plans were modest—some may say they were timid—I believe they were only prudent. Our plans were to complete the link between Lake Superior and Red River which Mr. Mackenzie had been pressing forward, on the ground that we ought to have as soon as possible a through summer route for immigration and transportation purposes within our own borders. *We advocated also the building of the road over the prairies as fast as, or even faster than, required for settlement, and the building of branch lines as required.* In the meantime we proposed to continue the exploration of the routes for the ends of the road and to complete those ends more leisurely than proposed by the Government. By so doing, we argued, they could be built more cheaply, and the North-West lands being meantime developed and enhanced in value, they might become a more substantial assistance as a basis for the contract for the construction of the expensive ends. The great object, as we conceived, *was to forward the settlement of the fertile parts of the North-West territory* so that you might have a backbone for the Canadian Pacific Railway. (Loud applause.) To this end we thought it very important that the road should be built upon such a financial basis as should admit the lowest possible rates of freight on produce coming out and goods going in, for one obvious difficulty to be contended against there, is the distance from tide-water. Therefore,

WE WANTED THE ROAD BUILT CHEAPLY

and the capital account kept down, so that the demand for interest and dividends might be light. The changed policy of the Government has resulted in enormous expense, which has been greatly increased by the haste in construction, and by enlarged operations, not contemplated by anybody up to a late date. Our total cash expenditure, of which almost all has been already incurred, amounts, including the assistance granted to eastern extensions, to the vast sum of \$87,000,000. We have now engaged for nearly three times the amount contemplated. *That is over \$400,000 for each electoral district, or \$1,700,000 for your united counties.* To meet this about \$20,000,000 have been taken by enormously increased taxation, and the public debt has been swollen to gigan-

tic proportions. And this is irrespective of the land. But the plan of the Government also resulted in the creation of a great capital stock and bonded debt in addition to the subsidies. If you issue bonds and stocks, as you know, the next thing is to see that the tolls on traffic are high enough to pay interest and dividends. Sixty-five millions of dollars of stock have been issued, realizing only twenty-nine and one-half millions of dollars to the company of which \$21,000,000 went to pay and secure dividends, leaving only 8,500,000 to go into the Road. This was because the Government, against our protests, authorized the issue of the stock at nominal prices and their appropriation to dividends, and so introduced the

VICIOUS SYSTEM OF STOCK WATERING,

which has done so much to enhance the cost of transportation and impair the value of railway securities in the United States. You know that the great effort is to force the people who use the railways to pay interest and dividends upon all these nominal securities. Besides this stock there are thirty-five millions of dollars of bonds, making a total of one hundred millions of dollars of nominal capital, apart from our subsidies. Large sums have also been expended with the sanction of the Government, by reason of the extra cost involved in the great rapidity of construction. I will give you one proof of the fact that speed means cost. There is a section in the mountains, which was estimated by the company itself and also by the Government engineer to cost just half as much again if constructed at the rapid rate proposed, as if the work were done in reasonable time. No doubt the same consideration applied in other cases, and *the Government last session admitted that the haste of construction had involved large additional cost.* Great sums have also been devoted to schemes and extensions not embraced in the original plan or even in the plan of 1880. The action of the Government has

CREATED A MONOPOLY FOR TWENTY YEARS,

which has caused deep dissatisfaction among the people most directly affected by it. It was of the last consequence that the North-West should be settled by a contented community, but instead of that we have a people in many respects discontented. So much have they felt the weight of this monopoly, and so anxious have they been to mitigate it, that within a short time the old Red River route was reopened with a view to competition, and again the people of Manitoba are earnestly at work and are charging their revenues very heavily for so young a Province in order to open the Hudson Bay route and so find relief from this mono-

poly. We cannot refuse them that relief, and I have supported their efforts to obtain it; but you will see that *the consequences of their success may be serious to us all. If that is the way for wheat to go, it is the way for manufactured goods to come, and instead of trade connection between the West and the older Provinces, we establish a direct trade connection between the West and Britain.* The policy of the Government was based upon solemn pledges and promises which they made to Parliament, and to the people. The first pledge was that the bargain was to be a finality. No more was to be given, no changes were to be made. They told me when I complained of the extensive character of the concessions that they were liberal, because

THEY WERE TO BE FINAL,

there was to be no coming back to Parliament for relief. But since then guarantees, loans, concessions, exchanges, grants and further powers have followed in quick succession. (Loud cheers.) There has hardly been a session of Parliament which has not seen a fresh proposition for the Canadian Pacific Railway. So much for the question of finality. Then they promised that the progress and completion of the work should result in a

VERY RAPID IMMIGRATION

into the North-West from the Old World. From their calculation it followed that allowing for the natural increase we should have had, by the year 1885, 313,000 whites at least in the North-West, and by the year 1890, 680,000. And, remember, this calculation was on the basis of ten years' time being occupied in construction, but later they halved the time, declaring that this change would result in a still more rapid flow of immigration. These promises which Sir John Macdonald made and Sir C. Tupper endorsed, are like some other political kites, with the same names as makers and endorsers, which have been discounted from time to time at the People's Bank, often renewed, but at last dishonoured, and which now lie under protest with no effects to meet them. (Cheers and laughter.) But they did not confine themselves to promises. They told us that the promises were kept. They gave us alleged figures of actual settlement. They said that in the four years from 1881 to 1884, 148,000 souls had actually settled in the North-West. On the basis of their figures *we should have had in the North-West in 1885, 250,000 whites,* but the census of the territories and our other information indicate that there were

ONLY ABOUT 125,000.

Of the people who are there, only 50,000, as far as we can conjecture, are immigrants from foreign parts. The Government told us a great immigration would be secured by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company itself, and we would be saved the large expense of settling that country. But we paid in 1884 nearly \$600,000 in promoting immigration, and in 1885, over \$500,000. (Cheers.)

The Government declared that this policy would result in the return to you of enormous sums from the sale of lands in the North-West. In 1880 Sir John Macdonald declared that \$71,300,000 would be paid or due upon lands by the year 1891, and that the expenses of survey and management being deducted, there would remain \$69,000,000 either in cash or good mortgages, and Sir Charles Tupper said that was a most moderate calculation which nobody could doubt would be more than realized. So late as the year 1883, only three years ago, the Government told us that

WE WOULD RECEIVE IN CASH \$58,000,000

between 1883 and 1891 from the North-West lands. As a matter of fact we received in gross, without any deductions, in the five years from 1880 to 1885, about \$4,000,000, and the net receipts after paying expenses of survey, administration, and head office were about \$375,000! In that calculation I do not charge against the receipts a single dollar for the Indian grants, mounted police, immigration, local government, and other charges entailed upon us by the North-West. And this is not the worst of it, because the period I have just referred to included the years of the boom, when the receipts for lands were comparatively large. Lately the receipts have not covered the expenses. In Parliament the other day, I asked these men if they would now venture to say that the net return from sales of lands in the North-West would be one-tenth part of the estimate of 1883, and they did not answer that challenge. (Applause.) When they asked you to agree to the expenditure upon the Canadian Pacific Railway they promised you in the most distinct, precise, and emphatic manner that every dollar of principal and interest should be repaid to you out of these lands.

THERE ARE THE RECORDED PLEDGES

given originally, repeated year by year afterwards, and declared to be even more than realized. I give you now a counter declaration, which I made years ago. So far from these statements being true, I believe that not one dollar of the enormous sum of principal we

have spent in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway will ever be realized by you out of the net proceeds, after just deductions, of the North-West lands. If we shall realize some fraction of the interest accrued up to the time of the completion of the road, that is as much as we can, as reasonable men, expect to do. And these promises, pledges, and estimates on the faith of which only you endorsed that project have so completely failed that they do not now pretend to you they are to be realized at all. Well, then, ladies and gentlemen, they said we were through this policy to derive a great benefit by the wonderfully rapid settlement and opening up of the North-West which it would produce. Sir John Macdonald stated that the settlers would take up land at a rate equal to 59 acres per head for all who went into the territory. I pointed out how absurd that estimate was. In the North-Western States and Territories the settlers had up to 1870 taken up something like 10 or 12 acres per head, and cultivated $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres per head. Sir Charles gave us

A WONDERFUL CALCULATION.

He declared that one hundred thousand farmers in the North-West would produce in one year six hundred and forty millions of bushels of wheat. (Laughter.) Oh, he said it; I heard it myself. (Renewed laughter.) I see that you practical farmers realize the foolishness of such talk. But that is the sort of story with which a majority were deluded, and persuaded to entrust with power to carry out their scheme the men who were to do such great things for us. It was promised that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company should relieve us of the charge of building branches, for that these gentlemen said the company would do that in order to realize the profits from their lands. I do not mean to say that they have not built any North-West branches, but I do mean to say that they have not done what the Government promised, and that we are now giving about ten millions acres of land in order to help on the building of branches, and a large portion of that land is going to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which has become the proprietor of some of this branch mileage, which it is thus building by the aid of further subsidies from us. The Government agreed that they would secure a fair arrangement as to freight rates, as between the North-West and Ontario, and the North-West and Quebec. Montreal has a great natural advantage over western cities in being an ocean terminus. The wheat is likely to go down through to Montreal, where it can be shipped across the ocean, and where the cars are emptied, there it is likely they will be filled with goods as return freights. Nobody begrudges that advantage to Montreal. But Toronto and

Hamilton and other western cities have a minor natural advantage in being nearer the North-West, and consequently being able, other things being equal, to send goods to the North-West more cheaply.

FROM THE COMMON POINT,

Callander it is a shorter distance to Hamilton and Toronto than it is to Montreal, and we had a right to expect, and we were promised by the Government, that we should reap the full advantage of that shorter distance. But we have not secured it, and the Canadian Pacific is, it is said, about to make equal rates between Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, and such like points, and the West. The latest act of the Government in connection with the C. P. R., was to reverse their own decision reached the previous year, and to give up \$10,000,000 of our loan to the company in return for our being allowed to retain 7,000,000 acres of our land grant, which is now unsalable. This transaction was accomplished in favour of a company whose stock stands at a premium of between forty and fifty per cent. on the issue price, and whose shareholders have regularly received large dividends upon their investment. That operation at one stroke added \$10,000,000 to our public debt, and \$400,000 to our interest charge, to the advantage of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and to the disadvantage of the taxpayers of Canada. In all these things, as I told you, I am not blaming the company. They were one party to a bargain and the people were the other. The persons I blame are the administrators of your affairs, who made such bargains, who effectuated such a policy, who asked you to endorse their proceedings upon representations which have proven so entirely fallacious. Much of what I have said goes to show what a good bargain, in their own interest, the company made, a consideration which should help to raise their stocks and improve their position. In truth,

NO COMPANY SINCE THE WORLD BEGAN EVER GOT SUCH AN EXCELLENT BARGAIN.

They have the advantage of \$87,000,000 of cash, or its equivalent. They have secured nearly \$11,000,000 from lands sold, bonuses, and town sites, and they have left about 14,000,000 acres of land. If you value this at \$1 an acre, the sum of their public advantage is about \$112,000,000, besides the great monopoly and free road beds, and great exemptions. That, certainly, is a gigantic bonus, which ought to make the company extremely strong. But what I have shown you is that the Government, which gave these immense, unprecedented concessions, has not

fulfilled its pledges or realised its promises. And you must remember that all the development which has taken place in the North-West, and more, would have taken place under our policy; while the enormous debt which burdens us all, and which has done so much to alienate Nova Scotia, would, under that policy, have been very largely avoided.

As to the future, that will speak for itself. About both past and future there were, during construction, many disputable points on which I have not touched; some of the greatest gravity. Many positions were taken, many criticisms were urged, many controversies were waged, as to details of the policy, as to methods, as to results, on which I have not touched. Some I omit for brevity. Some remain yet in the region of dispute; while the policy is consummated and argument cannot affect it now. While I am ready, should my views be challenged, to give my reasons, and prepared, if shown to be wrong, to acknowledge my error, I must say that I have not yet seen ground on any substantial question involved to change my opinions. But on any of these points, the agitation of which might be supposed by susceptible friends to bear injuriously on the prospects of the company, I am very

WILLING TO BIDE MY TIME,

and let the future decide. I have never wished, even when it was a duty to discuss the policy, still less do I wish to-day, to say one avoidable word which might, if any words of mine could, injure the prospects of the company. I believe no one has done more than myself to show how magnificent are their subventions. It has been my duty, however, in the past, and it may be my duty again to criticise their methods, and to discuss their relations with the public. That duty I shall continue to discharge firmly and freely when occasion calls. But this is not such an occasion. I am concerned to-day to show, as I think I have shown, by some though not all the proofs, that *the C. P. R. policy of the Government* has not been wise, has not been justified by events, has not realised their promises, has not effectuated their pledges, and should rather weaken than strengthen their hold on the intelligent electorate of Canada. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

(8)

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY,

IT WAS NOT TO COST THE COUNTRY A CENT—WHAT THE EXPENSE HAS BEEN.

Speaking at Galt, Mr. BLAKE said : The Government promised most emphatically, when they were persuading Parliament and the people to agree to their policy of enormous obligations and rapid construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, that the cash receipts from the land would suffice to pay as the work went on all the obligations and interest without increasing the taxation.

In 1880,

THE FIRST MINISTER USED THESE WORDS :

For the purpose of relieving the people of Canada from the burden of taxation, which the work would otherwise entail, we have offered every second lot at an upset price, so that the road may be eventually built without costing the people one single farthing which will not be recouped. I believe that land can be made productive under the terms of the resolution to complete the whole of that road, to open that immense country, and give us a magnificent railway from sea to sea, without adding to the burdens of the people, or without causing any necessity for an increase of taxation. We can do it all by the sale of the lands which we hold as a sacred trust for the purpose of defraying the whole expense of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Again he said :—

As the road progresses the annual sale of lands will be more than sufficient to meet all possible cost of the railway.

Again :—

The proceeds of the sale of the lands will meet our engagements as the work progresses, including claims for interest.

Mr. White, in amendment to a motion by Mr. Charlton in the same session, moved, and the House resolved :—

That the policy of the Government for the disposal of the public land in Manitoba and the North-West is calculated to promote the rapid settlement of that region, and to raise the moneys required for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway without further burdening the people, and that it deserves the support and approval of this House.

In the same year, 1880, the First Minister estimated the cash proceeds of the lands actually to be received from that year to 1890, inclusive, to be \$38,600,000. The amount which would be then due but not payable, but still a mortgage on the lands, and as good as cash, bearing interest, he estimated at \$32,700,000, or an

aggregate received and due of \$71,300,000. He estimated the cost of survey and administration of the lands at \$2,400,000, and he brought down a handsome balance of net results of \$68,900,000 before the year 1890.

On 10th February, 1882,

THE FIRST MINISTER MADE THIS STATEMENT :—

We have not forgotten the promise made by the Government, that they would make the land in that country recoup to the Dominion the \$25,000,000 that we have promised the Syndicate, and what the Dominion has already spent, or is spending on the Canadian Pacific Railway. *There is no reason in the world, as I have urged again and again, why the people of the older Provinces should put their hands in their pockets and settle that country, and improve it, and build railways at their expense.* That country, which is going to reap the advantages of those railways, should provide the cost of the improvements, and the North-West, I am happy to say, is so rich, and will be so sought for, that what was a reasonable proposition at the beginning is now a certainty, namely, that it will be able to sell sufficient land that, while preserving the homesteading right, it would be able to repay to those who have contributed to the taxes necessary in connection with building the road, the money with interest added.

Again :—

It is safe—it is certainly beyond the possibility of doubt—to say that every farthing, and every cent, and every dollar, that has been or will be expended in building the Canadian Pacific Railway, not one shilling of this burden will fall on our shoulders, or the shoulders of the generation that will succeed us. We will be free from the whole amount of that debt.

Again :—

By this year, then, there will be 10,000,000 acres granted to colonization companies under Plan No. 1, which means the eventual payment of \$10,000,000 into the Treasury. . . . That will be \$10,000,000, and with the sales that will take place of railway lands in other portions, we will have, either in money or in what is as good as money, solid mortgages on every one of these colonization tracts, an amount equal to \$2,500,000, so that in one year we may fairly say we have got half of the whole \$25,000,000.

On 2nd April, 1882,

THE FIRST MINISTER SAID :—

It was the policy of the Government that the country should pay for its own railway.

And again :—

Seventy-five thousand acres are to be sold—they are not to be used for homestead purposes—for the purpose of relieving the people of the older Provinces who, on the faith of this assurance and promise—and on that promise only, accepted the burden, and have at the polls recorded their sanction of this policy. . . . They endorsed this policy on the understanding that eventually that country would pay the whole of the expense.

Then, on 12th April, 1882,

SIR CHARLES TUPPER SAID :—

The lands have so increased in value as to warrant us in the statement, and to warrant the conviction in the mind of every intelligent man, that at an early date we will not only have the \$25,000,000 recouped to the Treasury, but we will go on, and, if we have not wiped out our other responsibilities, we will soon be in a condition to wipe out the engagements thrown upon us by the late Government, as well as those incurred by our own in reference to the work.

On the 4th of May, 1883,

SIR CHARLES TUPPER,

then Minister of Railways, read to the House the statement of the Department of the Interior, as follows :—

SIR,—Having given the subject my best and fullest consideration, I estimate that the receipts of this Department from the sale of agricultural and coal lands, timber dues, rents of grazing lands, and sales of mineral lands other than coal, with the royalties from the minerals, between 1st January, 1883, and 31st December, 1891, both days inclusive, will amount to not less than \$58,000,000.

And

SIR CHARLES TUPPER

in the same speech, referring to a general estimate, said :—

This is the amount that we expect to receive from surplus revenue and the sales of land from the commencement of this contract down to the time the contract provides for the completion of the work. With that calculation before us—and I think all will admit that it is a safe calculation—I think we may come to the conclusion, not only that our country will not be overwhelmed in debt, but that we shall be in the position the Imperial Government is in to-day. Mr. Childers reduced the national debt eight millions sterling last year, and he proposes to reduce it by eight millions this year. So my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance, proposes to reduce our debt, so we propose to reduce these surpluses, not for the construction of the Canada Pacific Railway, mark you, but for the reduction of the public debt, that when the work is constructed from end to end, there will not only be no increased indebtedness upon Canada, but at an early day the sales of the land alone will recoup back to the Treasury of the country every dollar that has been expended.

These are some and some only, of the statements made by the Government. I told them, on the other hand, that the sales of these lands

WOULD NOT MEET THE COST

incurred in the local government and development of the country, and in the surveys and administration of the lands; that they would not pay the interest on the expenditures in respect of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and that they would thus, of course, produce nothing toward the principal. I told them that their cal-

culations were extravagant, wholly unwarranted by the experience of the past or by any reasonable expectations of the future, and to-day, I am sorry to say, I am able to prove that we were right and they were wholly wrong. The results from 1880 to 1885 show net receipts of about 3 or \$400,000 over the cost of survey and local and head office administration of the lands, allowing nothing for the cost of Indians, Mounted Police, Local Government, immigration, and so forth. But that is not the worst. The boom years are included, and in the latter two years the receipts do not cover the expenses of administering the lands alone. The results of the settlement are of the same character. And the prospects for the future do not warrant us in believing that there will be many early sales. I cannot give you better proof of that than by referring you to Sir John Macdonald's speech in London, in which with singular inconsistency, while contending that he had redeemed his pledge, that the sales of land would pay the expense of the Canadian Pacific Railway as the work proceeded, he asserted that the free grants would absorb all the immigration that could reasonably be expected for the next twenty-five years. Now, if every immigrant for twenty-five years is to be absorbed by the lands which are granted free

HOW MUCH ARE WE GOING TO SELL?

(Applause.) It is evident that the charges will absorb all and more than the receipts. The arrears of interest on our payments for the Canadian Pacific Railway already reach many millions of dollars, and will not be met if you set against the receipts the charges; still less will there be anything to pay current interest or to be applied redeeming the principal. What is that principal? It amounts, for payments made or pledged, adding together those under and those outside the original contract, to a grand total of \$83,000,000, apart from yearly subsidies.

MR. M'LELAN, THE FINANCE MINISTER,

said last session that the money we borrowed for the last Canada Pacific Railway loan, was costing us more than four per cent., and thus that we made money by receiving back part of that loan in advance. Assumed that we borrowed all the amount, and that the interest and charges on our transcontinental railway expenditure cost us $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the annual charge would be \$3,735,000. There is also in connection with some of the eastern extensions of the system a yearly subsidy of \$250,000 for twenty years, and another of \$30,000 for fifteen years, making \$280,000 a year more for a long term of years. There is thus a yearly charge of over four millions; and a principal of \$83,000,000. This we have to

pay. (Applause.) Now, I have given you in a few figures the cash cost of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the country apart from lands. I have pointed out that these men told you it would

COST YOU NOTHING,

that they were going to make enough out of the sale of lands to pay for it, principal and interest, as the work went on. But I have shown you that we have already paid many millions out of increased taxation, and we will have to pay scores of millions more in the same way; and this story about the lands paying for the railway is proven to be an absurd and exploded fiction. And yet

SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

speaking at London, said:—

I was laughed at in introducing the measure originally when I stated that the twenty-five millions which we were to advance, that we were to give as a gift, as a subsidy—I do not refer to the loan now—that every farthing of that would be repaid by selling the land, made valuable by building the railway. Gentlemen, that, like all my other predictions, will be carried out. Under our system even-numbered sections are kept for homesteading, and these even-numbered sections cover such a large area of land that they will absorb all the population that is likely to come into that country for the next twenty-five years. The odd-numbered sections we keep and put into the market at a very reasonable price, and every acre of it that is sold is funded for the purpose of paying the cost of survey, the cost of administration, and, finally, to pay off the twenty-five millions we were obliged to borrow in England for the purpose of the grant to the Canadian Pacific Railway. Gentlemen, we were told at the time we introduced that measure that we were putting a tax, not upon ourselves, but upon every farmer in the older Provinces; that we were taxing posterity; that our children and children's children would feel the burden of those twenty-five millions. I submit, gentlemen, it is now a matter of certainty, it will not happen in a day, in a year, or in some years, for a nation can afford to wait, but I tell you it is certain that those lands will be sold, that the money will form a fund to pay off the twenty-five millions. *Then we will have that great railway finished, finished without putting any burden upon the people of Canada; the twenty-five million and every farthing of it will be paid out of the produce of the lands of the North-West, and not one cent of it will fall upon you, your farms, or your children.*

Now, you will observe, Sir John alters his prediction; he confines it to the twenty-five millions of cash subsidy, but I have proved to you that he and Sir C. Tupper both promised that the lands would pay principal and interest of the whole cost of the Canadian Pacific Railway. If they say that only the \$25,000,000 will be repaid out of the lands, there remains the trifle of \$58,000,000, the rest of the cash cost of the road, which, with enormous arrears of interest, and the yearly subsidies, you must make up your mind,

COMES OUT OF YOUR TAXES.

He says now that the cost will not be paid as the work is done, that "it will not happen in a day, in a year, or in some years," but I have shown you that the promise was that the money would be paid out of the lands, principal and interest, as the work went on; that six years ago they said they would make \$69,000,000 by 1891, and that three years ago they said they would make \$58,000,000 in hard cash between 1883 and 1891; while in fact they will net nothing at all.

Sir John says the homesteads will absorb the immigration for twenty-five years to come. If that is so the debt will have been in the meantime far more than doubled by the interest. The interest charge, even at 4 per cent., will in that time double the debt, apart from the compound interest all together. You will have to pay in simple interest an amount equal to the principal before he begins the process of recoupment. The truth is—and we may as well face it—we will have to pay these four millions a year out of our taxes. (Applause.) We will have to redeem, as a public obligation, this vast principal of 83 millions; we will have to settle the whole. THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT ESCAPE FROM THE FACT THAT THE DEBT AND THE TAXATION, THE PUBLIC BURDENS, HAVE BEEN ENORMOUSLY AND PERMANENTLY INCREASED BY THE BUILDING OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY, REGARDLESS OF THE OTHER DISADVANTAGES OF THEIR CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY POLICY, WHICH I SHALL NOT DISCUSS TO-NIGHT. THEY HAVE BROKEN EVERY PLEDGE. THEY HAVE DECEIVED THE PEOPLE. IT IS FOR THE PEOPLE TO GIVE THEM THEIR REWARD. (Loud applause.)

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY MATTERS.

THE LAST SACRIFICE OF \$10,000,000.

COLLAPSE OF THE TORY BOOM POLICY.

Hon. EDWARD BLAKE, at Listowel, said:—Some recent Ministerial utterances lead me to say a few words to you upon one single point of the Canadian Pacific Railway policy of the Govern-

ment, that concerning the grants to the Company, and particularly the last transaction of taking back some of our waste lands in satisfaction of their debt. First let us try to grasp the magnitude of these grants, the money part of which, contrary to the solemn promise upon which the Government induced Parliament and the country to consent to their policy, must be paid out of your taxes instead of being, as they alleged, paid out of the proceeds of sales of North-West lands. Now, gentlemen, the whole

EXPENDITURE OUT OF PUBLIC RESOURCES

on the transcontinental line—and by the transcontinental line I mean the whole schemes projected from ocean to ocean, because they have made and promised a considerable expenditure outside of the original contracted line between Callander and Port Moody, I say the whole of this public expenditure, made or pledged, including the receipts by the company through its land grants and bonuses is

NOW ABOUT \$98,000,000.

This takes no account of their free road-bed and station grounds and other privileges, exemptions and monopolies of enormous value. The public expenditure for the main line from Callander to Port Moody is of course less than this, because about \$17,000,000 represents to-day the capitalized value of the sums given or pledged in cash, or by yearly payments, in connection with the other elements of the transcontinental scheme. The distance from Callander to Port Moody is 2,550 miles, and the grants for this part of the scheme are these—Government works and surveys, \$35,000,000; cash subsidy, \$25,000,000; cash lent the Company and settled last session by the resumption of waste lands, \$10,000,000; proceeds of the Company's land grant bonds, local bonuses, and sales of town sites, about \$11,000,000, making a total of \$81,000,000; besides about 14,000,000 of acres of land available for sale, which they still retain. These gifts are equal in round figures to \$31,750 and 5,550 acres for each mile of the road. If you reckon the unsold land grant to be worth \$1 an acre, the grants amount to \$95,000,000, or \$37,250 for each mile; if you reckon the unsold land at the too high rate of \$1.50 per acre, at which the Government took part for their debt, the grants amount to \$102,000,000, or \$40,000 for every mile of the 2,550 miles from Callander to Port Moody. I am convinced, taking the road all over and having regard to the exceptional advantages for railway construction during the last few years, when the cost of construction has been lower than ever before, that had the road been built at moderate speed and with proper economy, had not the rash, the insane policy of extreme haste, with all its incidents and consequences, been adopted, the road

COULD HAVE BEEN BUILT FOR THAT MONEY,

and the Canadian Pacific Railway, built at the public expense, might still be public property. These colossal grants have been supplemented, as I have told you, by the equivalent of \$17,000,000 for outside operations, making a grand total of from \$112,000,000 to \$119,000,000, according as you reckon the value of the unsold land. These grants are enormous and unprecedented. They are beyond comprehension; we cannot grasp such figures; they are equal to more than half our whole net public debt; they are equal to over half a million for each electoral district in Canada; they are equal to a yearly charge for interest and charges, calculating the cost at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., of over \$5,000,000, or for each electoral district about \$24,000 a year. They are equal to over \$120 for each head of a family in Canada. It was with this state of things in view that the Government agreed last session to release \$10,000,000 of the debt, and add \$400,000 a year to the public charge. This is the last transaction included in my figures. Sir John Macdonald in various places has made statements on this subject. At Winnipeg he said:—

"There were only ten millions more of the debt, and the Company said, 'Take your choice: we will pay you the other ten millions, or if you wish to free our land of any mortgage to the Government, so that we can go into the markets of the world and get money to build branches for the purpose of extending and developing the C. P. R., you may take out of the land grant, out of the most fertile part of the great North-West, enough land at \$1.50 an acre to pay your ten millions.'

"Well, gentlemen, you all read the papers, and you know the estimates made, especially by Mr. Blake, as to the value of the lands.

"In his celebrated speech, which has been so often quoted, he stated that the lands, at the lowest valuation, were worth \$3.75 an acre.

"I believe they are worth that, and that we made a good bargain for the lands, at less than half their value. In consequence of its being free of debt, there is no railroad in the world which has such substantial credit as the C. P. R."

At London he said:—

"There now remained only another ten millions to be recouped, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company came to us and they said, 'We have until 1890 to pay this. We have paid you twenty millions five years before the time. We will now do one of two things: we will pay you the money in 1890, if you wish to free us of all obligations, and get done with the inconvenient relation between the Government and the Company of debtor and creditor. We will pay you in land the whole balance of the debt at \$1.50 an acre. Now, gentlemen, that land was to be taken out of the railway belt, that land was to be taken out of the 25 millions of acres that we had agreed to give them, and which they had earned, that land extending 20 miles each side of the railway; some of the finest land that has ever laid out of doors, to use a familiar expression. It recalls to our recollection that Mr. Blake, in his place in the House of Parliament, has valued that land at a minimum, at

the least value, at \$3.75 an acre. Mr. Charlton said it was worth \$5 an acre, and the Company offered us, in order to get rid of the obligation, the land at \$1.50 per acre. Well, we had to consider it, and the Government came to the conclusion, and I think you will agree with us, it was a correct conclusion, if the land at its lowest is worth \$3.75, we were making rather a good bargain out of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to get the land at less than half price. (Cheers.) So we took the land at \$1.50 an acre, and we have those lands now; we are selling those lands, and we are making a fund out of the sales as the lands are sold, in order to redeem the bonds, to redeem our obligation to our creditors, to apply to the payment of the ten millions. So that, gentlemen, we are now free from the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Canadian Pacific Railway is free from us; the lifting of the mortgage on the railway for this ten million frees them entirely. They are the most enterprising body in the world; they are extending their road in every possible way; they are building branch roads wherever branches can be useful to the country and to the road as a commercial enterprise. They can now go into the market free from all debt to issue their bonds, and with the prestige, with the credit they have gained by the fact that the road is now completed, by the fact that they own the road, and that the Canadian Government or Canadian Parliament cannot interfere with them—that they can go into any of the markets of the world, and the very people that would not look at their bonds at any price three years ago will only be too glad to get them at their market value."

You know how much confidence they have in me! They have often told you how correct my judgment is! (Cheers and laughter.) And so of course,

THEY WERE QUITE SATISFIED

when, as they allege, I, of all men in the world, valued the land at \$3.50 an acre, that they must be making an excellent bargain. (Laughter.) Sir John is never tired of this alleged quotation of my opinion. Everywhere he repeats it, and depends on me! He says, "This is Mr. Blake's estimate;" and it is extraordinary, and even flattering, to know how much they depend upon Mr. Blake's alleged estimate—when it suits them! (Loud applause and laughter.) Gentlemen, it was not so.

THEY MADE THE ESTIMATE THEMSELVES.

Sir John Macdonald gave an estimate as far back as 1879 and repeated it in 1880, of the value of North-West lands within a certain distance of the projected railway. He declared what the land was worth in each of several belts on either side of the railway, valuing the several belts at different prices correspondent with their distance from the line. Only a few months later in the same year they brought down a new railway policy, under which they were to give lands along the line to the present company, and, in dealing with this new policy, I said:—A few months ago you valued these lands at such and such prices. Now that the situation has, as you say, every way

improved, and that the railway is to be built through the lands faster than was then expected, thus increasing their estimated market value, you surely must believe the lands to be worth at least as much as your own estimate of a few months ago. Here is what I said on that subject in 1880:

"What about the lands? These lands are to be within 24 miles of the railway. According to the estimate of the Government, made by them in the recess before last session, and which they published to the world as the terms of sale of railway lands; confirmed by them during last session, when they brought it down and declared it to be a moderate estimate; further confirmed by them when they asked Parliament to sanction their going on with the work on those regulations and principles; and still further confirmed, in a sense, when they announced, as they have repeatedly announced, that the prospects of selling land in the North-West are infinitely brighter to-day, that the land is worth more to-day than it was a year ago. According to this view, which we may take as a minimum estimate, there is established for lands to be found within twenty-four miles of the railway, an average price \$4.04 an acre. (Hon. members, hear, hear.) Well, the hon. member for Niagara and other hon. members think that a wholly ridiculous estimate.

"Mr. Plumb—We do.

"I did not hear that the hon. member for Niagara thought it a ridiculous estimate when his chief and leader propounded it last year. * * * But now the case is different, and the case being different alters the case, and the hon. gentleman, the case being altered and his chief being absent, sneers at and ridicules his chief's estimate of the value of the land.

"I may explain, sir, since there appears to be a little incredulity on this subject, how it is. The ten-mile range, or rather the two ranges of five miles, near the railway, were valued at five dollars an acre, * * * the two fifteen-mile ranges near to this, making thirty miles in depth altogether, were valued at \$4; and eight miles of the next range the three dollar range."

I thus showed that the average value, as estimated by the Government themselves, of the land they were about to grant, was \$4.04 an acre.

Now have I not demonstrated by the clearest proof the fact that

THIS WAS THEIR, AND NOT MY VALUATION?

What is to be said of the candour and honesty of public men who endeavour to persuade you that they relied on my values, when they knew I was only quoting their own?

I think mine was not an unfair argument, I was applying their own valuation to their own bargain; and they couldn't well complain of that! (Applause and laughter.) But even if it had been my estimate in 1880, and if I had been wrong then in my valuation of North-West lands, I want to know whether that would justify a bargain made for the purchase of North-West lands in 1886? Suppose this had been my estimate, instead of theirs, and that subsequent events had proved it was wrong, or

suppose the value and prospects of sale had changed in six years, what sensible man would say.—“You are justified in buying these lands in 1886, because in 1880 a gentleman in whom you had no confidence whatever valued them higher?” Why, when I used my argument in 1880 they repudiated their own valuation and declared it ridiculous! But not one of you but knows that the price of land in this country fluctuates. Not one of you but knows that there have been great rises and falls in the value of real estate in the North-West. It is absurd to talk of lands there having a fixed and immutable value. The value goes up and down according to circumstances, especially in a new country subject to such fluctuations and contingencies as the North-West.

HAVE THERE BEEN NO BOOMS

and no collapses in the North-West? They acknowledged that a boom happened—they caused it. They acknowledge that a collapse has occurred. They caused it too. They say that they cannot even give away the land as rapidly as they desire. Sir John Macdonald himself said at London that the immigration to the North-West would be absorbed by the free grants and homesteads for twenty-five years to come. What chance is there, then, of selling farming lands meanwhile? Do you want ten million acres more to sell when you expect to give all free that will be wanted for the next quarter of a century? It is absurd; and yet they say they made a most excellent bargain for the country. They tell you they have bought land cheap for you, and that they are going to make money out of the purchase; and still in the same speech, yes, and even in the same sentence, Sir John declares that the position of the Company is greatly strengthened by this sale. It could not have been, in this aspect, a very good sale for both the Company and the Government as well. If the Government got the land dog cheap, at half price, surely the Company must have sold too cheap and lost money! (Cheers.) As a matter of fact, it is correct that

THE COMPANY WAS VERY MUCH STRENGTHENED

by this transaction, for the moment it was cabled that the Government had agreed to buy the lands at this price, the Company's stock rose several millions of dollars, just because the Company had made so good a bargain and the Government such a bad one. (Cheers.) Now then, I dealt in 1885 with this whole question of North-West lands. I then dealt with their pretence that the old valuation was mine. I repudiated it then. I gave them my views on the general subject then; and if they, in 1886, were re-

lying on my opinions, it was to those views of 1885 they should have referred. Remember, this speech was made just a few months before they made this bargain, and shortly after the Company had asked them to agree, and they had refused, as they did in 1885, to make the purchase. This is what I said:—

“Now, the hon. gentleman referred to my valuation of the North-West lands, as he called it, in 1880-81. I pointed out what the Government valuation had been in the preceeding year. I was not, therefore, measuring their corn in my bushel, but in their own, and I think

THAT IS A FAIR WAY.

They have valued the lands at such and such prices, and the following session, within a few months, with no variations of circumstances except one of improvement having occurred, they brought up a proposal to hand over the picked lands—nothing which was not cultivated—lands fairly fit for settlement—that was the character of the lands; they were proposing to hand them over to the Canadian Pacific Railway, and I said: Now you are bringing forward this as a bargain. You told us the lands were worth on the average so much money last year. Are the circumstances worse now? No; they told us they were better. Then the lands must be worth as much? Yes, that could not be denied. Well, if you were giving so much lands to this railway, and if according to your conception, they are worth so much money, then of course you are giving them the equivalent of so much money. That was my argument. But I have never said that the price of the North-West land was a fixed figure. On the contrary, I have pointed out that under different circumstances, in varying years, under varying influences, the price of the lands in the North-West, as in other new countries, would rise and fall, and that we have to deal with the facts as they were presented to us at the time at which we were called upon to deal. I cannot say what the North-West lands will bring in the near or the distant future, but I can refer to some tests of the value of those lands at the present time, and that I will venture to do. I say that their value in the future is speculative; on the average, no doubt, in the long run, the value will improve, the country will improve, but what you should deem them worth to-day, or in the near future, is a question which passes my poor head to answer, although hon. gentlemen answer it in various ways according to the exigencies of the situation. I pointed out last session that they could not be relied on as present sources of revenue to meet the interest on the loan, and now after the collapse which occurred during and since last session, and after the outbreak of this session, what are we to say is their value? Now, I will give you some tests.”

I then proceeded to refer to the North-West Lands Co., and went on as follows:—

“Well, then,

“TAKE THE COLONIZATION COMPANIES.

“In the year 1884 the Minister of Railways stated that there were some 23,000,000 acres applied for by colonization companies, that \$10,000,000 were already provided for, and that the rest would be provided for very soon, because they would go on selling an increased average and enlarging the price. We do not know, of course, what the Government measure is; they have promised to bring one down, and they admit that they are about to bring a proposal to relieve the colonization companies whose bargains made with them by the Government are too hard, and cannot be performed. Take again the

CALCULATION OF THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF.

On the 4th of May, 1883 they brought down calculations that they would realize \$58,000,000 in cash for the lands in the North-West by the year 1891. How many millions will they dare say they will realize now? Will any man amongst them say they will realize \$58,000,000? Will any man say that they will realize one-half of \$58,000,000? If they will not will they say that circumstances have not changed, or that their calculations have been verified? Take their action in June, 1883, when they passed an Order-in-Council declaring that in future they would give no lands to railway companies in the North-West at a price which would let the Government less than \$1.50 per acre. They were afraid that the former price gave too large a margin of profit to the railway companies which had not been fortunate enough to secure land at \$1 per acre, were to pay at least \$1.50. Now, we had this condition of things, that while in June, 1883, the Government declared that future sales to railways should be at a price which would net the Government \$1.50 per acre, the companies making their profit beyond, in September, 1884, they decided upon the policy of giving lands free to the railways, and why? Because they found that

THE RAILWAYS COULD NOT SELL

the lands at one dollar even and make money on them, and in order to make that money which they intended the railways should make, it was necessary to give them free. *Does not that show a change of situation as to the lands in the North-West.* Surely there is but one answer to that. When you find the Government declaring in June, 1883 that it would be sufficiently profitable to the railway companies to get lands at \$1.50, and in September, 1884, saying we must give them free to the railway companies in order that they may make some profit on them, who will deny that there is a change—I do not know how long it will last—with reference to the North-West lands? And what more? Why, Mr. Van Horne, in September, 1884, declared that he was not sanguine, with a gift of practically 9,600 acres a mile for 100 miles of the Manitoba South-Western Railway, passing through the best part of Southern Manitoba and long settled, that he would be able to build that line, although he started out with a basis of credit of 50 miles of completed line, for which the company charges something like \$25,000 a mile. That is the statement of a gentleman who, in his other capacity as Vice-President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, is certainly deeply interested in not depreciating the value of the lands of the North-West. *Does not that show a change?* Take the dealings of the Bell Farm Company with the Government, by which their agreement is modified very materially. Take the fact that there are *only twenty-three homesteads on a 400 mile stretch of the Canadian Pacific Railway through the prairies.* Taking all these facts, I ask you whether there is any immediate prospect of realizing considerable sums from the sale of lands in the North-West. Now, these gentlemen do not like this, because they told us, when they asked us to assent to the Canadian Pacific Railway contract in 1881, and again when they asked us to assent to the loan of 1884, that they were going shortly to pay off the railway obligations which the people of Canada were incurring out of the lands of the North-West; they told us they would all be recouped out of the lands; and having told us that, they do not like to hear these statements which convict them out of their own mouths of gross miscalculations."

So that you see a few months before the bargain I explained fully the past, and stated my views as to the present value of North-West lands as established by the experience which we had

been gaining, and with reference to the sales and prospects of sales. Surely if it were my judgment and estimate on which they wished to rely they would have turned to my speech of 1885, and to the fact that in the same year I denounced the proposal as one not fit to be entertained. But now

THEY WISH TO GULL THE PEOPLE

by pretending, forsooth, that they acted on my valuations. It is as dishonest as it is shallow to make any such pretence. (Cheers.) There was another element to be considered in judging of the prudence of this transaction. That is the proved demand for public lands in the North-West of late years. That demand had fallen to nothing. Look at things as they were in the early years, in Mr. Mackenzie's time, when there were yet no railways, when these men alleged there was no North-West progress, and compare the figures with their own. (Applause.) The entries for public lands in the North-West were for 1875 1,021, covering 163,000 acres; for 1876, 807, covering 153,000 acres; for 1877, 2,283, covering 400,000 acres; and for 1878, 4,065, covering 632,000 acres; and in the last year they were 724 sales. Then came the present Government.

THEY CREATED THE DISASTROUS BOOM,

with its thousands of nominal entries and its delusive and short-lived prosperity. In 1882 it rose to its height; there were 16,740 nominal entries, covering 2,700,000 acres, with 3,703 sales. In 1883 it showed signs of contraction. There were 11,217 nominal entries, covering 1,800,000 acres, with 1,054 sales. Before 1883 closed it was ended. In 1884 the bubble had already burst, the collapse had already taken place. They now attribute that collapse to the rebellion. Now, the rebellion was their fault, and so they cannot thus escape. (Cheers.) But the rebellion did not take place till 1885; and in 1884 there were but 661 entries, but four per cent. of those of 1883, a reduction of 96 per cent., covering only 94,000 acres, and one single sale, while in 1885 it had become worse; there were but 129 entries, covering 21,000 acres, and one single sale. (Cheers.) If they wish to charge the falling off between 1884 and 1885 to that page in

THE BLACK LEDGER OF THEIR CRIMES

which is headed "North-West Rebellions" they are welcome. (Loud cheering.) But so it was, that the demand had fallen to nothing, that there were but 79 homestead entries, 49 pre-emptions, and one single sale in the year before this great bargain

by which we bought ourselves so rich ! (Laughter and applause.) So it was, that even compared with the progress in the "bad times" of Mr. Mackenzie their figures should have made them blush and pause just at the period when they secured more land to sell ! Again, but 139 persons had, up to the close of 1885, taken up homesteads on a stretch of 400 miles along the C. P. R. in the North-West. How absurd it is to talk of this as a bargain ! How absurd to tell you that you are to clear the ten millions and interest out of these lands ! (Applause.) In truth, there is

NO PROSPECT

of the Government netting within any reasonable time any appreciable sum out of North-West lands. Remember that the Government cannot sell in detail to as great advantage as private persons. There will be no special prices for special farms ; and you may as well make up your minds to the inevitable, and set your shoulders to the wheel, for you will have to foot the bill. (Applause.)

Now, you must remember there is another thing to be considered also. We were promised that the Company would be our great immigration agent. We were told that, as owners of 25,000,000 acres, their interest in getting the country settled, so as to secure the advantage to them of settling up their own lands, would make them incur the cost and save us the expense of bringing in immigrants. But, by this bargain, to the extent of 10,000,000 acres, we have taken away the necessity laid upon the company of bringing in immigrants. Sir John Macdonald said that the company first made the offer that, if we preferred it, instead of paying back in cash all that we had loaned them, they would transfer to us 7,000,000 of acres. He indicates that the company didn't want it particularly, but he took the offer because

IT WAS SUCH A GOOD THING

for the country. (Laughter.) That, I fear, is not a candid statement of the case. It appears from public documents that the company asked for the arrangement the year before. I opposed it in the House on the rumour getting out. The Government then refused the Company's request. The Company, it is plain, pressed it again as part of the settlement of the debt this year, and at length succeeded. If you think this transaction took place to benefit Canada, with its existing possessions of this and scores of millions of acres of waste land which cannot now be sold to immigrants, that is a fiction of which you had better disabuse your minds. It has no existence, in fact. This was a

FURTHER AND ENORMOUS BOON

to this great Company; and when you consider the colossal gifts which had been lavishly made before, and the gigantic sums in principal and interest which we were called to pay, when you consider how prosperous and flourishing they reported the present condition, and how bright and glowing the immediate future of this great corporation—the creature of our bounty,—I think you will agree that this further concession, *this cancellation of ten millions of their debt for seven millions of our waste and unsaleable lands, was extravagant, needless, improper, and impolitic*, and deserves your condemnation at the polls. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

NORTH-WEST LANDS.

A CORRECTION MADE BY THE LIBERAL LEADER—A DIFFERENCE IN THE FIGURES BUT NO DIFFERENCE IN THE CONCLUSION TO BE DRAWN.

In his speech at St. Thomas Hon. EDWARD BLAKE said:—I observe that Mr. White has pointed out inaccuracies in some figures I gave lately about North-West lands. These figures I took from a book which I have caused to be kept up for some years, giving particulars of the statements in the blue books. On reference to the gentleman who did this work for me, I am informed that he finds that for the last two years he by mistake took only one of two sets of figures for the totals. I feel it my duty at once to acknowledge and correct the inaccuracy. Here is a table which I believe gives the facts:—

NORTH-WEST LANDS.

Year.	Entries.	Acres.	Homesteads.	Pre-emptions	Sales.
1877.....	2,283	400,424	832	594	767
1878.....	4,065	682,591	1,753	1,588	665
1882.....	16,740	2,699,145	7,383	5,654	3,703
1883.....	11,237	1,852,046	6,039		
Less cancelled....	375	100,000	375		
1883 (net).....	10,862	1,752,046	5,644	4,120	1,034
1884.....	7,700	1,087,256	3,753	2,762	1,185
Less cancelled....	2,366	367,280	1,394	572	
1884 (net).....	5,334	719,976	2,359	1,790	1,185

Year.	Entries.	Acres.	Homesteads.	Pre-emptions.	Sales.
1885.....	2,317	481,814	1,559	590	168
Less cancelled....	2,236	355,269	1,296	940	
1885 (net).....	81	126,545	263	350	168

You will observe that during 1877 and 1878, in Mr. Mackenzie's time, there was fair progress, and that the advance of 1878 over 1877 was considerable, the entries being nearly double. Then coming to

THE BOOM YEAR

of 1882, you will see an utterly abnormal, and in truth an unreal and ruinous expansion, with two and three-quarter million acres taken up, with nearly 17,000 entries—7,400 homesteads, 5,600 pre-emptions, and 3,700 sales. Then in 1883 you find the failure of the boom. The entries were half as much again, and the sales were nearly four times as numerous in 1882 as in 1883. Then comes 1884, with all the signs of collapse; the entries fell to 7,700, less than half of the number in 1882, and the ominous entry of cancellations became prominent; they numbered 2,366, reducing the net gain in entries for the year to 5,334, less than one-third of those of 1882; the net gain in lands taken up was but 720,000 acres, little more than one-fourth of 1882; the net gain in homesteads was but 2,359, and in pre-emptions, 1,790, while the sales numbered 1,185. The figures had got so low that, having regard to the change of circumstances and the lapse of years, the progress compared most unfavourably with that of 1877 and 1878. Then we come to 1885, and reach the lowest point. The entries fell to 2,317, hardly more than half those of 1878; but there were no less than 2,236 cancelled entries, so that the net gain was nominal, 81 only. The land taken was only 480,000 acres; but 355,000 acres were cancelled, leaving only 126,000 acres to the good, as against 680,000 acres in 1878. The net gain in homesteads was but 263, as against 1,753 in 1878. There was an absolute loss in pre-emptions of 350, the cancellations exceeding by that figure the new pre-emptions. And the sales fell to 168, not 5 per cent. of those of 1882, and little more than one-fourth of those of 1878. These figures tell you plainly how completely

THE GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED

to fulfil its promises. How utter has been the collapse of its policy! How hollow its dreams of large settlement and enormous receipts from North-West lands, wherewith to recoup Canada for the uncounted millions it has lavished! Who now dares to say, as was said in 1883, that we shall realize fifty-eight millions out

of North-West lands by 1891? You have been grossly deceived and misled; your future has been mortgaged and your taxes have been squandered upon false pretences; and you have now to pay the heavy price of your misplaced confidence in the Tory Government. (Cheers.)

RAILWAY POLICY.

Reimbursement of Local Expenditure.

In his speech at Orangeville Mr. BLAKE referred to the items of railway expenditure made and pledged, and in the course of his remarks, he said :—

You have heard it said, no doubt, that I have been pandering to Quebec, and have been willing to say or do anything to catch the French vote. I have not hesitated to claim justice for the various Provinces, even though it might be turned to my prejudice in Quebec. Let me give you an example. You will remember that some sessions ago a proposition was laid before the House for the payment of several millions of dollars to the Province of Quebec in part reimbursement of the

PROVINCIAL EXPENDITURE ON CERTAIN RAILWAYS

built in Quebec; and which it was proposed should be treated as extensions of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

I took the ground that, adopting this policy we should give equal justice to the other Provinces. Let me quote some extracts from my speech, as explanatory of my views :—

Now in the Province of Ontario, in accordance with her system of local government, which has developed to a much greater extent than in any of the other Provinces, minuter systems of local government, by means of municipal institutions, municipal taxation, and municipal expenditure, the Local Government has provided more largely for railways, through municipalities, than that of any of the other Provinces.

The general results in the Province of Ontario are as follows :—Government aid paid and promised \$6,520,000; to this is to be added the settlement of the claim of the Canada Central for a large specific grant of land in the Province of Ontario, made by the Legislature before Confederation, and in respect of which the courts held there was a legal claim against, not the Province, but the lands of the Province for an indefinite amount. This was

settled for \$550,000 in respect of railway construction which took place after Confederation. This makes a total of \$7,070,000 as the Government expenditure made and to be made. To this is to be added the municipal aid—I am sorry I have not been able to get all the grants, but the grants I have obtained information of are about \$8,000,000, making a payment in all of over \$15,000,000 by the Province, irrespective of a very large amount of the old Municipal Loan Fund debt, which was an asset of the Province of Ontario, and which was remitted to the municipalities—had been expended in the earlier railway construction. That I do not take into account at all, as my effort has been to ascertain what has been expended in the Province on railways since Confederation. One other observation is fit to be made, with reference to the expenditure of over \$15,000,000, and to which, I have just alluded, in Ontario, and it is this, that no less a sum than \$3,200,000 of that expenditure has been made on lines which have been declared to be now, practically, parts of the Canadian Pacific Railway—the Canada Central an expenditure of \$850,000; the Toronto, Grey & Bruce, which, it is said is to be the main artery to the Canadian Pacific for a considerable time to come, and which has been leased under arrangements, to which Parliament has given its sanction, by the Canadian Pacific Railway as part of the Ontario & Quebec—\$1,450,000; the Credit Valley, which forms a link in the line of through communication, which Parliament has sanctioned the acquisition of by the Canadian Pacific Railway, \$900,000, so that, as I have said, \$3,200,000 of provincial and municipal money has been expended in the Province of Ontario for enterprises now practically part of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and deemed to be of very great importance on the proper working and complete realization of the benefits to be derived from that enterprise, and under the demands made upon municipalities in respect to these liberal railway grants, very considerable difficulties have arisen and very great burdens have been imposed upon many thriving municipalities.

I then proceeded to show that in Nova Scotia \$2,712,000 had been expended in like manner, apart from lands, and in New Brunswick \$1,876,000, besides a large area of lands, and I went on as follows:—

Speaking roughly, it is very extraordinary how closely in the whole of the Provinces the railway expenditure approximates the basis of population. In the Province of Manitoba over \$900,000, I believe, has been given municipally to various railways, either to the Canadian Pacific Railway or to railways which have had more or less connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway. I have shown you an expenditure in the five Provinces of over \$30,000,000, and there is this observation to be made with respect to that expenditure: that the railways upon which it has been made are, many of them, aye, most of them, aye, almost all of them of infinitely greater importance, railways which can infinitely more properly be called railways of great advantage to Canada within the meaning of our constitution than many of those lines which the hon. gentleman has sought to bring within our jurisdiction, and many of those proposed railways for which he is now advocating a federal subvention. I do not intend to go over the list, but this fact is notorious. Let each member consider the lines in his own Province which have been built since Confederation and he will see with the very greatest facility that the observation I have made is just and correct, namely, that those lines which have been constructed are of infinitely more importance, of infinitely greater consequence and infinitely more national in their character than any of the lines now proposed to be aided, and indeed more important than any line which can be projected. They are the main lines that were required at that time. * * * Now a third proposal is

made, namely, that there should be a payment to a Province, in respect of past expenditure on certain of its Provincial railways. I maintain that this is a principle now brought forward for the first time, and which, if it is to be applied at all, must have an application more extensive than that proposed to be given to it. I maintain it is not just to apply that principle in one Province, and not to the other Provinces. *I maintain that the claims and rights of the other Provinces ought to be recognized, when this new policy is inaugurated.* We know what the truth is in this matter. We know perfectly well, it is quite notorious to us, that the finances of the Province of Quebec are in a distressed condition. * * * I do not think the people of Quebec will dissent from the spirit in which I now address myself to them, namely, that it is fair and reasonable, under these circumstances, when a new policy of this kind is being proposed, to consider what its real basis is, to consider what the real condition of the other Provinces is, relatively to that basis and otherwise, and to see whether what is being proposed, as it stands, and without affecting proper remedies for the application generally of the new principle you propose can be called just. I have pointed out the railway expenditure of the Provinces which have expended money on railways, and have shown you it bears an approximate relation to the population and resources of the various Provinces. I have shown you that other Provinces stood in the same position as Quebec with reference to this railway expenditure, I have shown you, for example, that the Province of Ontario has, through our municipalities, expended \$3,200,000 on railways which are now part of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and I say that, in dealing with these lines, dealing with the question of railway expenditure, proposing to recoup Provinces in respect to railway expenditure, the proper, just and equitable mode of dealing with the case is to place all the Provinces on the same relative footing, to do justice, not to one, but to all. I have no desire to interfere with the aid it may be necessary to give in the interests of Confederation at large to place on a somewhat better footing the finances of Quebec, but whether the hon. gentleman of that Province agree with me or not, I am prepared to advocate in the House, while I yield what I think just, the claims of justice to all; and I believe that justice to all is not done by these resolutions. I believe that justice to all requires a wider application and a sounder basis for the application of the principle which the hon. gentleman proposes to incorporate in our legislature, and I moved, *seconded by Mr. Laurier*, the following amendment:—

“But this House feels bound to express the opinion that Canada, when (as proposed by the said resolution) recouping one of the Provinces for part of the past local expenditure in railways, should have regard to the past local expenditure in other Provinces in railways, almost all of which have been declared to be for the general advantage of Canada, and this House regrets that the Government, while proposing a measure of relief to one Province, has not taken steps with a view to a fair and proportionate measure of relief in respect of all local expenditure in the other Provinces.”

That was the position of the Liberal party, and you will judge whether that position was sound and reasonable, you will judge how far it is fair or right that the Governments of Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the other Provinces and their municipalities should

CONTRIBUTE WITHOUT ANY RECOUPMENT

from Ottawa, many, many millions of dollars, to the construction

of public works, which are of enormous importance to the country at large, and a great part of which have been absorbed by the Canadian Pacific, while the Government of one of the Provinces receives a large recoupment in respect of similar works constructed within its borders. I think justice to all demanded the adoption of my amendment, which I rejoice to say was sustained by the solid body of the Liberal party. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

RAILWAY POLICY OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

GUINEA-PIG DIRECTORS OF SIR JOHN'S SUBSIDIZED ROADS—ASSISTED IMMIGRATION, AND JOBBING IN PRINTING—CONVERSION OF THE "MAIL."

Hon. EDWARD BLAKE, in the course of a speech at Huntsville said:—It is a long time, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, that I have promised myself the pleasure—and many a time I have talked with your former representative, Mr. Cockburn, about it—of visiting the district of Muskoka. I am very glad an occasion has arisen when I am able to conjoin a visit to your lovely lakes and brilliant woods, which I have been enjoying this morning, with a visit to what, after all, must be the chief charm of a country to any public man or to any man worthy of the name, the people who inhabit it. (Applause.) I am glad to see your faces as well as the beautiful scenery in the midst of which you live, the loveliness of which must compensate you very largely for the trials, difficulties, and privations which happen to the pioneers who settle up a new and somewhat rough country. I am MYSELF THE SON OF AN OLD SETTLER, who, more than half a century ago, went into the completely unbroken forest and there hewed out for himself the space in which he put up

THE LOG HOUSE IN WHICH I FIRST SAW THE LIGHT.

(Applause.) Early in my public life I was called upon to represent a new county, though not quite so new as this, the county of Bruce. And I have just had the pleasure of speaking to two former inhabitants of Bruce who cast their first votes for me in 1867. (Loud applause.) It has thus been my lot both by birth and political connections to take a deep interest in the situation,

struggles, and wants of those who have been pioneers in Canada. I was early brought face to face with one of their prime needs, that of easier and cheaper means of transportation and communication. I knew what the condition of things was in Bruce when I first went there. I know the changes which followed in four or five years, when I was called upon to take power in Ontario, about the close of 1871; I was called upon to do so at a time when it was necessary practically to set on foot what had been inaugurated on paper only, a large scheme of Provincial railway aid to meet that great necessity. Under these circumstances, taking stock of the circumstances and the needs, as well of some of the older portions of the Province as of the new districts, my colleagues and myself determined that a very much larger appropriation of the public funds than that proposed by our predecessors would be necessary in order to do justice to all; and though the House had been elected under the auspices of my opponents, I did not hesitate to bring down a plan involving more than

DOUBLE THE AMOUNT THEY HAD PROPOSED

for railway aid. The amount was one and a half millions at that time. I proposed to add \$400,000, and also a further sum of two millions, payable in annual amounts extending over twenty years—thus more than doubling the cash value of the grant. And being called upon practically to apply the grant, so far as the applications then before us enabled us to assist the districts, it was my good fortune to propose, with the assent of my colleagues, grants for almost all the new districts in which there were then railway schemes, including Grey, Bruce, Simcoe, Renfrew, Victoria, Addington, Hastings, and Nipissing, and even this then very new district of Muskoka. It fell to me to propose the grant out to Washago and later to Gravenhurst, which was then the furthest point to which railways in this quarter had been projected. The Conservatives allege that the Reform party is not a party of practical, progressive men, that we object to large practical steps taken to improve the condition of the country, but those who know the course of the Reform party will agree with me that whether we were out of office, or whether we were in office, our course has been entirely different. (Cheers.)

After showing how largely the Mackenzie Government aided railways, Mr. Blake contrasted the honest manner in which the Liberal Ministry granted subsidies with the proceedings of Sir John Macdonald regarding the Railway Section of the Boodle Brigade. He proceeded:

I have never objected—on the contrary I heartily approve—of

a member of Parliament who considers his district entitled to aid on behalf of a certain railway, pressing fairly upon the Legislature and the Government the just claims of the district. I think that is part of his public duty as the representative of that district. I have objected strongly, however, and I object before you, to the combination of the assumed discharge of public duty with a private and personal pecuniary interest in the subsidy or the enterprise which derives its commercial value from the subsidy. (Cheers.) Look what happens. The Government comes down, as it did last session, at the close of the session, with proposals for between thirty and forty grants to different railway enterprises. We were called upon to swallow them all at once. It was rather more than my digestion was capable of dealing with, but it had to be done. (Laughter.) We find case after case in which these applications are made by members of Parliament. Is that in itself objectionable? No.

IT MAY BE THE DUTY

of the member to make the application. But we find in a great many of the cases that the member has a double interest, not only that of a public man and a representative, acting for his district, but also a private interest which may cause himself to be enriched or impoverished, according as the grant is given or withheld.

In this connection Mr. Blake referred to the case of Mr. Burns, M.P., for Gloucester, N.B., who owns eleven-twelfths of the stock in the Caraquet Railway, which has received three bonuses aggregating \$224,000, of which his proportion was over \$200,000. This he said was but an instance, and though one of the most readily stated, it was not by any means worse than some others. He proceeded:—

Now, I say to you, we must put a stop to this thing. (Cheers.) I am very glad to notice amongst certain startling developments on other subjects, that there is some sign of our voice on this subject, having reached as far as—how far do you think—as far even as the *Mail* newspaper. (Laughter and applause.) The change is not all I could desire, but when a man sees a glimmering of the light I am prepared to hope for better things. (Laughter and applause.) This is what the *Mail* said on the 24th September:—

“It is of the last importance that members of the House should be free from corrupting influences, and that their independence should be jealously guarded.”

“But if members are to be debarred from taking part in public or private enterprises which are likely to receive Government aid in the shape of money, Parliament will be weeded of some desirable men.”

Now, there are four or five millions of people in this Canada of ours. I believe they are five millions of intelligent, capable, progressive people. We have plenty of moderate capitalists, of railway contractors, railway engineers, railway promoters, speculative persons, but it is gravely stated that unless the 211 men who are chosen out of these four or five millions of people to conduct the public business; to legislate upon public affairs; to decide upon the public policy; to determine the public expenditure are allowed to engage in these enterprises, "Parliament will be weeded of some desirable persons." (Loud laughter.) How is this serious difficulty to be got over? I believe we can best get over it by realizing that there is no difficulty at all. I think we can find plenty of people outside of our legislative halls to promote and build these subsidized railways. But that does not yet suit the *Mail*—the *Mail* says the common-sense plan would be to distinguish between the *bona fide* promoter and the mere guinea pig—as they are called in England—you will observe that the *Mail*, by inference, admits that there are members of Parliament who are

MERE GUINEA PIGS.

How is this distinction to be made? The *Mail* says provide a stake test, as is done in France. It seems an extraordinary thing for the *Mail* just now to look to France as a guide. (Laughter and applause.) The *Mail* says:—

"The common-sense plan would be for the House to distinguish between the *bona fide* promoter and the mere guinea pig, whose only capital is his political influence or his capacity for log-rolling. This could be done, we think, by providing a stake test, as it was termed in France—that is by compelling the promoter or director who happens to be a member of Parliament, to prove on oath, when the scheme comes up for a Government bonus, that he has invested in it a substantial amount (to be fixed by the House) of cash actually his own, and not lent or advanced to him by others. By this means the mere politician who wants to turn his influence or his supposed influence with a Government to account, would be kept out of ventures of the kind, whilst no hindrance would be placed in the way of the member who was a legitimate business man."

I contend that

THIS PROPOSAL IS INADEQUATE.

No harm will result to the railway enterprises of the country if you say to the members of Parliament:—"It is not compatible with your public duty that you should smirch your reputations, and place yourselves in invidious positions, by working for subsidies from which you are to get personal pecuniary benefit." Acting on any other principle there is danger, great danger, of

abuse ; and, so far as I know, *not a single one of the members of Parliament whom I have accused of acting wrongly in this connection could answer the stake test.* (Laughter and applause.) The putting in of a substantial stake is the last thing they think about in connection with these enterprises, through which they are to acquire great political influence and tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars at the same time. Who are they ? Are they railway builders, railway engineers, capitalists ? No. *They are doctors, lawyers, country merchants, politicians, people of that kind, who never thought of building a railway until they found they could draw upon the public treasury to help them out in the business.* (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Having referred to the *Mail's* sudden conversion to the principle of Manhood Suffrage, Mr. Blake proceeded to consider the same paper's somersault on Assisted Immigration.

He said : The burden of immigration expenditure has been enormously increased. Instead of being removed it has been trebled or more. We objected to it because it was not only extravagant but

ATTENDED WITH JOBBERY.

We objected to it because the assisted passage system has been perverted and used injuriously to the fair claims of labour, and because the attempt to force immigration into the older Provinces had resulted unfavourably, and we insisted that the whole system should be modified, the expenditure cut down, and a simple effort made to announce to the tenant farmers of England and other places the capabilities of various parts of the country, so that we might induce those to come whom we desired to secure the advantages which we had to offer. These views have been stated by myself and many others. Let me quote part of my language at Hampton a few months ago :—

“ We have long contended for a change in the system. The Government promised us, when the Canadian Pacific Railway contract came down, that the Company would save us the bulk of our then comparatively small expenditure, and that the immigration system would be carried on as in the United States by the transportation companies. But since then we have been paying much more heavily than before.

“ Now, the system of State-aided immigration has proved an entire failure, and worse.

MANY UNSUITABLE PERSONS

have come in ; many also who were not entitled to avail themselves of assistance, and many were induced to come by false re-

presentations, I do not say made by the Government, but made by energetic but not very careful individuals who were paid out of the bonus a commission by the transportation companies on each head, and who represented this as a golden land, in which employment could be found at once at high wages. These poor, deluded people often come to our doors in Toronto with pitiful representations of the stories told them in the Old Country, on the faith of which they emigrated. In our present condition there is no use trying to force immigration into the older Provinces. We adjoin the United States, and there is the utmost facility of travel accommodation between that country and our own. The condition of the labour and land markets there necessarily affect us, and if we were, by some extraordinary means, to force a large number of people into our older Provinces, just as water finds its level, so would the population, and either the new comers would flow over into the United States, or they would

DISPLACE A CERTAIN NUMBER

of our own people who would have to pass across the line. The unhappy fact is that we do not do more, if we do as much as retain our natural increase. And our labour market has, so far as relates to mechanics, been injuriously affected by the course of the Government. We in Canada employ a large immigration staff, and we pay for the publication of immense numbers of pamphlets. But the publication of these pamphlets furnishes gross instances of

THE JOBBERY WHICH FLOURISHES AT OTTAWA.

Take the case of the *Montreal Gazette*, for example. We have a Government printer, who works under a regular contract. He is bound to print whatever we require at certain fixed rates. But instead of sending the work to this contractor, newspapers friendly to the Government are employed. The principal proprietor of the *Montreal Gazette* until recently was Mr. Thomas White, who is believed to be still directly or indirectly interested in that newspaper. The transaction to which I am about to refer took place while he was a member of Parliament, but before he became a Minister. The statement was made in the House by Mr. Somerville, a practical printer. Amongst the publications of the *Montreal Gazette*, was a pamphlet on British Columbia, of which the Government ordered 460,520 copies. The price charged by the *Gazette* was \$9,211.15. Mr. Somerville estimated that this was an overcharge on the basis of the contract on ordinary rates of \$5,805.82, the proper charge being \$3,405.33. So

that is where the money goes. In this same year the *Montreal Gazette* received \$19,770 for work, almost all of which should have been done by the Government contractors, and it was stated in the House that the prices for some portions of the work were even larger in proportion than those I have mentioned. The fact is plain that *the money paid for printing is used as a corruption and jobbery fund*. Scores of thousands of these pamphlets are sent, not abroad, but to our own people to promote, not the influx of settlers from abroad, but migration from one part of Canada to another. The system is vicious. The assisted immigration should be abolished, the expenditure largely curtailed, and the whole Department administered honestly and on business principles, instead of after the present fashion.

It is gratifying that the process of conversion has extended to this subject as well, and that to-day we find that, though a little while ago we were abused by the Conservative members for the suggestion we made, though so late ago as the 12th August the *Mail* itself was against us, there is now a change. The *Mail*, on 12th August said:—

“The few dollars each new arrival costs the Dominion, though much complained of in some quarters, is more than repaid the first year he is here, not alone because he brings capital with him, but because he at once becomes a consumer, and as such, an employer of labour. At the same time the immigration policy discourages the importation of labour to compete with that now in Canada.”

Mr. Blake then quoted the *Mail's* late article opposing the Immigration expenditure, and proceeded—

Gentlemen, my heart is cheered, I am greatly encouraged, when I find that after speaking for so many years on all these topics, not able, apparently, in all that time, to create the slightest impression upon the Tory mind, without the slightest sign of any good effect,

ALL AT ONCE THE DAY BREAKS,

and the light of conviction spreads and grows, and that on three important questions within a space of three days we find adhesion on the part of the chief Conservative organ itself to many of the views which we have been pressing forward. (Cheers.) How important a lesson does that teach us! It teaches us that we must not despair, no matter how stolid our Tory opponents appear to be, no matter how little they appear to realize the truth of what we say. We do not know at what moment there may be a wholesome impression made, and they may admit that they were wrong and we were right all the time, and propose to join with us in accomplishing these good ends. (Loud laughter and applause.)

LIBERALISM AND PROGRESS.

WHAT THE REFORM PARTY HAS DONE TO PROMOTE RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT.

Mr. Blake, after some introductory remarks, at Parry Sound, said:—I may be pardoned for saying that it is a subject of special pleasure to me, as well as of pride, to reflect that from my lips first proceeded the suggestion of the measure which conferred upon the vast mass of Young Liberals of Canada the franchise at an age and under circumstances earlier than those at which under previous laws they could be acquired. I thought it well to

GIVE THE YOUNG MEN A STAKE IN THE COUNTRY

by allowing them the privilege of the franchise at an early age, and so educating them up to the discharge of the noblest duties of citizenship. But I said also what I am glad to see is now realized, that it would not do that the young men of the country should have these privileges unless they felt the accompanying responsibilities, and that it was important and necessary, in order that the measure should do good instead of evil, that it should be accompanied by an increased activity and interest on the part of the young men in political affairs. Remember that in a very few years upon you will devolve the conduct of affairs in this our country, and that whether you are to have a country worth exerting yourselves for in the future will largely depend upon your exertions during the next few months. (Loud and prolonged applause.) We had a very pleasant journey to Parry Sound by road; I hope the next time I come it may be by rail. (Cheers.) There is nothing more inaccurate amidst the various inaccuracies which beset the presentation of Liberal views, when they come from Tory writers and Tory platforms, than their statement of

OUR RELATIONS TO THE PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS OF THIS COUNTRY.

To hear them sometimes you would believe that we Reformers were people who did not see any good in public improvements, and were always objecting to the country going forward. I say the very reverse of that is the case, for, regarding the Liberal party when in power or in Opposition, I state, and, what is more, I can prove, its course has been just the opposite of that. (Cheers.) It is quite true that with reference to the great work of which Mr. Cockburn has spoken, the Canadian Pacific Railway, it was

and is our belief that the work has been carried on too rapidly, and at an enormous expenditure, in part unneeded, of our public resources. We have believed, and I have stated in Parliament repeatedly, that a slower and more economical prosecution of the great work in certain parts would have enabled us to complete the enterprise with great economy of money and with a better prospect of immediate and permanent results for the road, and would have permitted us to spend in various parts of the Dominion which were already partly settled, and whose progress required in the general interest certain improvements of Dominion importance, some of those many millions which have been unnecessarily expended, in consequence of the extravagant bargain and of the unnecessary speed and expense of construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Public improvements of general consequence in these portions of the country, which bear their full share of the taxation of the country, we have always contended for, and I can point, I think, with some measure of honest pride, to the course which we took in the session of the Ontario Assembly in 1871. I was called upon to assume the responsibilities of office on the defeat of John Sandfield Macdonald's Government. At that time, as you know, \$1,500,000 of the public money had been appropriated for the purpose of aiding local railways. I investigated the situation. Called to office during a session of the Legislature, it was a difficult and laborious task, in the midst of general legislation, and carrying on public affairs in a House elected under our opponents and predecessors, to grasp the whole situation. I found, after considering the whole matter, that it would be right to

TAKE THE BOLD STEP OF ASKING FOR A LARGE INCREASE IN THE APPROPRIATION

already made. Having found that, it was my duty to run the risk. I ran the risk, and proposed that \$400,000 should be added to the amount to be given in cash, and that \$2,000,000 more should be appropriated on time, thus more than doubling—considerably more than doubling—the amount which the Legislature was enabled to devote, and by my bill pledged itself to devote, to the development of the railway facilities of the country. I was immediately called upon to deal with the application of a large portion of the fund. In some cases the materials showing the financial ability of the companies to build the railway projected were not forthcoming, but within a few weeks we proposed aid to railways which benefited almost all

THE NEWER SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY,

the then new counties of Bruce and Grey, the northern parts of Simcoe, even the southern part of what was then the Muskoka District, the counties of Victoria, Peterborough, Hastings, Addington, Frontenac, Renfrew, all the northern parts of Ontario, as far as there was any scheme projected at that time. We assisted and provided the basis upon which about two thousand miles of road have since been built, largely through these sections. I think I give you in this the best proof that the policy of the Liberal party was then a practical, progressive, bold, and vigorous policy of railway construction throughout Ontario.

* * * * *

After referring to the grant for the Parry Sound Colonization Railway, Mr. Blake proceeded:—The appropriation was not in fair proportion to that granted, for example, to the Baie Chaleurs Railway. The Tories have told you that the Opposition have been for the last few years pandering to the French. They say we have been wanting to get hold of the French vote. There was a railway in the Province of Quebec aided last session as well as yours. It was this Baie Chaleurs Railway. It passes through a country easy for railway construction, following the valley of a great river. It is a country which has been settled for more than a hundred years, and is now thickly inhabited. It is a country in which, thanks to the old settlement and to the natural conditions, labour is cheap, and where the wood supply and food supply necessary are easily obtainable. It is a country where the rails can be got in cheaper than they can be got in here by a great deal. For the hundred miles of this road the Government gave an average of \$6,200 a mile, and that they gave in a specially advantageous way. They gave \$15,000 a mile for the first twenty miles, \$6,400 a mile for the second twenty miles, and \$3,200 a mile for the last sixty miles. I thought that was unjust. (Applause.) It was unnecessary. My belief was, from all I could learn, that a smaller subsidy was sufficient to secure the construction, and I, who am said to be pandering to the French and anxious to secure their votes, opposed so large a grant. (Applause.) I declared that in view of the circumstances and of the grants being made to other roads, I saw

NO GROUND FOR MAKING SO LARGE A GRANT,

but I didn't hear Mr. O'Brien say anything about it. (Applause and laughter.) He did not seem to be affected by the contrast between \$3,200 a mile for a railway for this district

and \$6,400 a mile for the Baie Chaleurs Railway. He heard my speech, but never a word did he say as to the inequality and relative injustice of these grants. I gave then something of the reason why. I will give it to you—not the reason why Mr. O'Brien didn't speak—(laughter)—but why, in my opinion, so large a grant was given to the other railway. I found that there were in the directorate of that road a few influential members of Parliament and their immediate friends and connections who had eleven-twelfths of that railway in their own hands, so that eleven-twelfths of the profit out of the railway were to be reaped by these members and their immediate connections, all strong supporters of the Government. (Applause.) I pointed out that fact to the House, I gave the names of the members and their friends and showed that in fact this was

A PARLIAMENTARY RAILWAY,

owned by a few supporters of the Government, and that the Government were putting money not required for the interests of the country, into the hands of their supporters, giving them enormous profits upon the creation of the road. I congratulate you, not with reference to the colonization railway, but with reference to the Northern Pacific Junction Railway that, as I pointed out at Huntsville, even if the bonded debt has been increased, if the tolls are heavy, if you have no larger amount to pay, you have some compensation.

DALTON M'CARTHY'S GRAB.

You have the satisfaction of knowing that a prominent member of Parliament, and a supporter of the Government, has got an easy berth with a salary of \$3,000 or \$3,500 a year as President of the Northern Pacific Junction Railway Company, practically due to the subsidy, and has made, in common with a few of the original promoters a very handsome sale of the original stock which they took up, at enormous profits, also practically paid out of the subsidy, and that a few others have made great profits out of the contract. So that if you don't get all the good out of it that you might, you know that some estimable citizens, not residents here, it is true, and in whose fortunes perhaps you do not take a very deep interest, but still some prominent members of the body politic have got their full share of the good things of this life through the agency of the railway. (Prolonged cheers and laughter.)

THE KANSAS SLANDER.

ANOTHER TORY FALSEHOOD — HOW MR. BLAKE'S ONE REFERENCE
TO KANSAS HAS BEEN DISTORTED.

MR. BLAKE, in the course of his speech at Brantford, said :—

It has been the habit, as you know, for a great many years, for the Tory party to pay special attention to me, and in season and out of season to attack me for something said, or something alleged to be said, by me, and I have lately thought that at some of these meetings I would trespass upon my audience for a little to discuss some of these attacks. To-night I want to take a very famous sample ; I want to trouble you with a few words upon

THE GREAT SUBJECT OF KANSAS.

(Cheers.) For six years the statement has been constantly circulated by the Tory press and politicians that I was in the habit of descanting upon the superior advantages of Kansas, the greater charms of Kansas, its finer climate, its greater fertility, its superiority as a place for settlement over our own North-West, and that I recommended it as preferable to Canadians and Europeans alike. If, as they suppose, my words have hurtful weight where they are heard, they have given them the widest circulation and the greatest weight they could, and now every devoted Tory in the rank and file, I believe, supposes it is part of my daily conversation to laud Kansas and decry the North-West, and to recommend people to the one and away from the other ; indeed, I dare say they believe it is my daily morning prayer that Kansas may prosper and the North-West decay. (Cheers and laughter.) I see the *Mail* says the other day, "Fond as Mr. Blake is of sounding the praises of Kansas," and the *Brockville Times*, "Mr. Blake has long advocated the claims of Kansas as superior to the North-West for emigration." And so I might go on *ad nauseam*. And not merely their organs sound this note, but

THEIR LEADERS BLOW THE BELLOWS

and swell the doleful song. Sir John Macdonald said the other day, "We were told that the people had better go to Kansas," and added that I "had announced that Kansas was the country for profit, while Canada might be the country for sentiment." And so again, I might go on *ad nauseam*. Now, I am no believer in that kind of patriotism which adopts the functions of the ambassador of old, who was "sent abroad to lie for the good of his

country. (Laughter.) I believe in the virtue of the truth, and I believe that great harm has resulted to Canada, both at home and abroad, through the adoption of other tactics. But it is one thing, where occasion calls for discussion, to speak the truth; and quite another, without cause, to give circulation to disputed and damaging assertions. *I spoke only once in my whole political career on the subject of Kansas.* (Cheers) I spoke for cause. And if I had said what they allege I said, I submit to you that, on the Tory view of the effect of my statement, it would have been the part of patriotism, assuming my alleged statement true, to have let it die, instead of needlessly giving it for these many years the widest publicity, and so creating the greatest harm. And were my alleged statement untrue, it would still more clearly have been their duty to take the same course, and not to injure the country by the needless circulation of statements at once incorrect and damaging. (Cheers.) But what is to be said of

PATRIOTS WHO HAVE COINED A STATEMENT,

who have distorted and misapplied my words, who have themselves cooked up a mess which they call injurious, and have presented it as mine all over Canada and the world for six long years, howling all the while about the harm it was doing to dear Canada? (Cheers.) What, I say, is to be said of men who have themselves done the harm which they impute to me? (Renewed cheering.) Why, it is clear, ladies and gentlemen, that their object has been, at the expense of what they deemed the public interest, to hurt a political opponent! (Loud applause.) I leave it to you to deal with such lovers of their country. (Renewed applause.) I spoke but once—and

UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES?

In 1880 the Tory Government proposed that we should undertake the immediate construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in British Columbia and elsewhere. They declared that it could be done without cost to the country. They promised enormous immigration to the North-West and enormous receipts from sales of the public lands. Under their figures we ought to have had in Manitoba and the North-West, in 1885, about 313,000 whites; and by 1891 about 680,000 whites. Under their figures we ought to have received from the public lands \$38,600,000 in cash by 1890, and to have due and secured at the same date \$32,700,000 more. Under their figures the whole population was to take up an average of 59 acres of land per head; and Sir Charles Tupper calculated that 100,000 North-West farmers would produce

640,000,000 bushels of wheat in a year. (Loud cheers and laughter.) In support of these astounding statements, on which they asked the House to rely in agreeing to their policy, they themselves referred to and gave figures of the progress of the Western States, and particularly did they refer to the progress of the States of Kansas and Nebraska. (Cheers.) I felt that the House was being misled, that the calculations were fantastic, that the inferences were unsound, that the predictions would fail, and that the country would—unless the truth were then told—be plunged, under an entirely false impression, into enormous engagements which must be met out of loans and taxations, and not out of the resources they promised, or by the realization of the hopes the held out. *It was my bounden public duty, so believing, to show the truth; and I did show it.* (Cheers.) It was under these circumstances I spoke. Now, what did I say? They have been repeatedly challenged to produce my words, and they have not dared to do so. I will reproduce them now. This is what I said:—

I hold that it is impossible to contrast the situation of the two countries—Canada and the United States—on the general question of foreign immigration, without concluding that our future is not to be measured by the estimate of theirs. What has happened in the West with reference to them, cannot be expected reasonably to happen in our West, with reference to us, so far as the result is to be obtained by any foreign emigration. I have already stated that the foreign emigration to the United States for the decade ending 1860, was 2,600,000; for that ending 1870, 2,500,000, and for the present decade it is supposed it will amount to 2,700,000. These figures are enough to convince us that the rapidity with which western lands have been settled, so far as that rapidity is due to the direct, or indirect effects of foreign immigration, is not a rapidity which we can hope to reach in our North-West. Nor can I agree that the area of land in the United States available for settlement, although it is, no doubt, being rapidly diminished, is as yet at all reduced to such proportions, as to force the current of emigration to our North-West. There are still large areas of land in that country which are available for settlement, and which for those who happen to prefer the United States, will give them an opportunity of settling there for some years to come. The United States, in a sense, command the market in this respect. The emigration to the States, as far as I can understand, has been composed in later years to a very large extent of the Teutonic races. The Germans have played a very large part in the settlement of the United States. They exist there in very great numbers, and they exercise therein powerful influence. The same opinions which led the inhabitants of that and all the countries of Europe enjoying but partially developed constitutional Government, when deciding to leave their native lands and seek foreign shores, to choose the United States as their goal, have derived further strength from the knowledge that there are settled in the great Republic millions of their brother Germans, and the descendants of their brother Germans. It is therefore natural that we should expect, for several years to come at any rate, that the bulk of the Teutonic emigration will go, as it has gone hitherto, in the direction of the United States. The next important factor in the emigration to the United States has been from the people

of the country from which I am descended, and we know that the circumstances of that country are such that, unfortunately for us, and for the British Empire, there has been a strong impulse on the part of a very large and important part of the population of Ireland to prefer the Republic. In this case the sins of the fathers have been visited upon the children. The wrongs and injustice inflicted upon the majority of the Irish population in former days—at least the memory of those wrongs and that injustice, the recollection of transactions which no man would at this day vindicate or defend, has remained with those now on the soil, and obliterates, or at any rate obscures, in their vision, the more liberal conduct and the more just course which has animated British policy in this respect of late years. That circumstance has led to a large emigration from Ireland to the United States; and we know what the condition of Ireland still is. *But I hope for great things for Ireland, and for the Empire, from the events of the last few days.* I hope and trust that the advent to power of the Liberal party, supported by a great majority, decided Liberals and Radicals, will result in fresh measures for relief and justice to Ireland, which will tend still further to weaken her old feelings of hostility and disaffection, and to make the Empire in this regard a United Empire, I hope we shall see, among other things, a moderate measure of Home Rule for Ireland, and witness by the application of that measure the creation and maintenance of true and real bonds of union between Ireland and the rest of the so-called United Kingdom. But things being as they are, and having regard also to the financial condition of the bulk of the Irish peasantry, no wise man can expect, that within a short time, that within the next few years, there will be any serious change in the current of Irish immigration. So far as the Roman Catholic Irish are concerned, we must expect that the tide of immigration will continue for some time to set towards the United States. I hope the proportion may be diminished. I should rejoice greatly to see the Irish people recognize the advantages we offer them and establish themselves within our borders, but still I believe that for some time we cannot count on a decided change. The set of emigration has been sufficiently shown by the figures I have given, and naturally with the imperfect information available to those coming from other parts of Europe, and apart from all consideration of soil and climate, the notion of the important position and situation they would occupy under a Republican form of Government—the idea that as citizens of the great Republic they would have a greater and more active share in the government of their country—has actuated a great number of emigrants from the European Continent to choose the United States as the field where their energies and their talents could be most fully displayed, and the advantages of citizenship most fully exercised. Among the obvious material advantages presented to the minds of such persons is this:—That the National debt of the United States has been reduced in 14 years by \$603,000,000. It has been reduced by 30 per cent. of the amount at which it now stands, and that great reduction has been effected in the face of great difficulties and obstacles, and notwithstanding a period of depression which they have experienced, and which seems likely now to be followed by a period of revived prosperity—perhaps of inflation—I say that the contrast in this respect, upon which I shall take occasion later further to enlarge between the condition of the United States and that of the countries from which emigrants have come, is a contrast calculated to allure them to the Republic. Though the statistics for the current decade of the United States are not yet available, I am able to refer to some figures showing the later progress of two States especially alluded to by the hon. member for Cardwell a few days ago, Kansas and Nebraska. We were correctly told that Kansas had increased from 360,000 in 1870 to 650,000 in 1879, thus showing an increase in nine years of 490,000.

I have already pointed out the elements of which the increase in the population of the Western States is composed, and the domestic and foreign recruiting grounds from which the country draws her increase. These considerations alone show that the results in Kansas do not prove that our North-West is going to have a population of 550,000 in ten years as stated, for none of the conditions are parallel. But apart from the fact that Kansas had in 1870 360,000 of population to start with from which came a large natural increase forming an important part of the 490,000, it is to be remembered that Kansas had moreover in 1870 over 1,500 miles of railway in operation, and during the decade her railway facilities were increased to 2,300 miles. There is no doubt, I believe, that this State has shown the most remarkable development in the history of the world. In 1866 the State of Kansas was the twenty-fourth in rank in the United States as a corn producer, and in 1878 she had run up to the fourth. In 1866 she was twenty-fourth in rank as a wheat producer, and she had run up in 1878 to be almost the first in rank, producing in that year 32,000,000 bushels of wheat. With all these advantages, with all these proofs of an unexampled progress, with that large domestic and foreign recruiting ground to which I have before alluded, we find her increase of population in nine years was but 490,000, and we are told that the North-West, without the advantages which were possessed by Kansas, is to have an increase through immigration of 550,000 in eleven years. Now, Sir, I will refer to Nebraska. In that State also there has been, as the hon. member said, very rapid progress. In 1870 the population was 122,000. In 1879 it was 386,000. The increase in the nine years was 244,000. There was thus, of course, a substantial nucleus, the natural increase from which would form an immaterial part of the total increase. There was also a great domestic and foreign immigration. There was also great railway facilities throughout the period. In 1870 there were 705 miles of railway in operation, and in 1878 1,320 miles. Yet with all those advantages there was only an increase of 244,000 in the nine years, and even that increase was due to the circumstances to which I have referred which give the States a greater power of settlement than we can hope for. These are the figures for the two States which hon. gentlemen have chosen, and I believe rightly chosen, as presenting the strongest grounds for their expectation. I do not think they furnish good grounds for these expectations. I do not think that the only experience to which we can infer, having regard to the differences between the two countries, justifies us, however sanguine or fervent our hopes may be, justifies us as business men, and dealing with a business transaction, and calculating the cash returns, we may count on from the North-West lands in the next few years, in concluding that there will be an emigrant population of 550,000 in that country at the end of eleven years, and in incurring, on the faith of that result, enormous liabilities, which, if not met out of the lands, must be met otherwise. Such a thing may happen. I wish it would, but I do not think it is probable, because the experience of no other country, making allowances, proves that it can happen in our case. The statement, I think, is purely conjectural, is highly improbable, and cannot be sustained by any analogous occurrence.

Well, sir, I failed to convince the House. The policy of the Government was endorsed by the House, and afterwards by the country. But

EVENTS HAVE VERIFIED MY VIEWS.

We had, so far as can be judged, only 125,000 whites in 1885 in the North-west, instead of 313,000. We had netted a mere

trifle out of North-West lands, and any early prospects of the realization of net results from that source may be abandoned, for the First Minister himself declared the other day that the free grant lands will absorb the immigration for the next quarter of a century. If so, how much are you going to get for the sales of lands? (Cheers.) Then the surplus of wheat for export has not yet indicated the correctness of Sir Charles Tupper's calculations which are mentioned to-day only to be ridiculed. (Laughter.) We will shortly have expended on the transcontinental scheme the equivalent of \$87,000,000 paid out of the treasury, and a vast sum for interest, all payable out of taxes and loans. My words have come true. I wish from my heart that I could tell you I had been mistaken. But my words have come true. Now I have shown you the kind of advantages I mentioned, as possessed by the States, including Kansas, in calculating the rate of our immigration from the rate of theirs; the initial population, the existing railways, the home reserve for immigrants, and the European drift to the States. I have shown you the circumstances under which I spoke, to save you, if I could, from being misled into vast engagements, and deceived by delusive estimates and fallacious comparisons. I have shown you how I have ever since been belied. *I made no contrast or comparison as to soil, climate, or other physical conditions or elements of growth between the North-West and Kansas,* (Cheers.) *I did not declare that Kansas was in these respects or any like respects superior to the North-West.* (Cheers.) *I expressed the hope that the bulk of our migratory people would go to the North-West instead of to the States, and that we might in time divert a substantial part of the European emigration.* Sir, for these many years I have been doing my best to promote the real interests of the North-West, which have been checked, hampered and imperilled by misgovernment. (Cheers.) And now, but a little while ago, an article was published in the *Mail* in which they offered substantially the very views I had propounded in 1880 as to the comparative position of the two countries.

THE "MAIL" USED THIS LANGUAGE:—

We have repeated boom estimates and quoted boomsters' figures about everything, until we have created in our minds the vision of a region which does not exist anywhere on earth, and now that it has been shattered by the prosaic revelations of the census, we are weak enough to feel sorry at being undeceived.

The truth is that, all things considered, the population of Manitoba and the Territories is quite as large, placing it at 125,000 whites, as we had any right to expect it to be. It must be remembered that in all the new regions in the United States, the larger part of the population is American-born—hailing from the older States. There is no exception in this rule. In Dakota for instance according to the special census taken in that Territory last June, 269,700 settlers out of a total of 415,000, 75 per

cent. were native Americans, leaving only 25 per cent., or 145,000, to the credit of immigration. The same strange ethnic process is at work in our Territories, for, by the census just taken, it appears, that of a white population of 23,000, no fewer than 14,200, or a little over 60 per cent. are of Canadian origin. But if we must assume in accordance with this law, that the greater part of the future population of the North-West is to consist of the overflow from the older Provinces, then it is evident that the increase of population is sure to be slow, as compared with the increase in the newer regions across the line, since our reservoir of population is but one-tenth as large as theirs. Moreover, it is well-known that those immigrants who, next to the native-born settlers, have helped to develop Dakota and Minnesota, viz., the Scandinavians and Germans, are not to be procured for our North-West just now. They avoid our territory because they do not approve of our political institutions. This is an unpalatable truth, but there it is, and we must take account of it. The nativity tables of the foreign-born population in Dakota have not yet been compiled in detail, but the Swedes and Norwegians rank first in number, and the Germans are well up. So that being practically shut off from German and Scandinavian immigration, and having, as compared with the Americans, but a small overflow from native sources, it is manifestly absurd to expect any tremendous rate of development in our North-West just at present. Our time will come when the homestead lands in the United States are exhausted.

The article then proceeds to point out the last report of the Commissioner at Washington, showing that these reserves have shrunk to comparatively small proportions, and, after a quotation of that kind, it proceeds :—

In the course of a few years Dakota will be out of the field. The Immigration Bureau of that Territory says in one of its monthly publications (that for February) that at the end of 1885 the area of vacant Government land rated as agricultural land and open to settlement was estimated at 20,000,000 acres, of which 18,000,000 lay in Northern Dakota. For six months ending 31st December, the area of land entered on or filed was 1,524,000 acres—say 3,000,000 a year. At this rate the vacant land will be pretty well exhausted in seven years, and a most formidable competitor to Manitoba and the Territories disposed of. Canada may then surely reckon on immigration from the continent of Europe, provided efforts are made beforehand to make the people acquainted with the wealth of our resources. Meanwhile we probably need not look for any miraculous development of the North-West. There will be a steady influx of settlers from the United Kingdom, with a sprinkling from the continent of Europe ; but the main stream of immigration will, doubtless, consist of young Canadians, who, but for our enterprise in opening up this great region, would find their way to the United States, where so many thousands of our people settled in the days when we had no free prairie homesteads to offer.

You thus see that

THE "MAIL" HAS ADOPTED MY ARGUMENTS OF 1880.

But I am obliged to admit that there have been some disparaging comments on the North-West ; and from important quarters too. A little while ago an authority of great weight used this language :—

Cartier believed that Manitoba and the North-West could be made a French Province. A sudden rush of immigrants from Ontario and from England into the North-West upset that calculation for a while; but it is now clear that henceforth there will be no more rushes. The North-West will doubtless receive a fair share of English-speaking settlers every year, but we may safely abandon the boomster's dream, Europe transferring itself bodily to the plains in order to pursue the cultivation of No. 1 hard. Development will be comparatively slow, for the climate is against a miraculous expansion, and the competition of the North-Western, Western, Pacific, South-Western, and Southern States, with their infinite variety of products and climate must, for many years to come, stand in the way of the rapid peopling of our territory. So that, as a French speaker in Manitoba contended not long ago, Cartier's scheme is still quite feasible, since, if any one race be better fitted than another to take permanent root under a semi-Arctic snow, where thrift, endurance, and the faculty of being content with little are called for, it is the French-Canadian.

The same great authority, on a recent date, used this language:—

It is only fair to add, however, that in all probability the Government now in power has taken too sanguine a view of the North-West development. It has been the habit, in making up calculations of future progress, to ignore the fact that Minnesota and Dakota offer to the poorer class of settlers advantages fully equal to those held out by Manitoba, while the Western, South-Western, and Southern States present to the well-to-do immigrant, who can afford to choose his climate, an infinite and incomparable variety of attractions.

Who do you think has been guilty of the want of patriotism involved in this language? Some Grit, of course! Some Grit it must have been! No one but a Grit would talk like that! I do not know, in the present state of things, whether it was or not, you shall judge for yourselves! I can only tell you it was the *Mail* newspaper! (Loud and prolonged laughter and applause.) Can you believe it? Here we find the fatal competition of the North-Western, Western, Pacific, South-Western, and Southern States, with their infinite variety of products and climates! Here we find the statement that Minnesota and Dakota offer to the poorer class of settlers advantages fully equal to those held out by Manitoba, while the Western, South-Western and Southern States present to the well-to-do immigrant, who can afford to choose his climate, an infinite and incomparable variety of attractions! The language is not only positive, it is not only comparative, it is superlative! The writer absolutely revels in the advantages of the States. They are infinite, they are incomparable, they are overwhelming.

And all are fish that come to this net!

Do we find a poor settler? He will have in Minnesota and Dakota advantages fully equal to those in Manitoba!

Do we spy out a well-to-do settler? He is pointed to the Western, South-Western, and Southern States, as offering an infinite and incomparable variety of attractions!

Do you want a climate? Then go there! Do you want products? Then go there!

But when the *Mail* turns to the North-West, which has already been condemned as inferior to those more favoured lands, what are the expressions of eulogy and hope, what is the attractive description of that country? "The climate is against a miraculous expansion;" "the competition of the States must for many years to come stand in the way of the rapid peopling of the North-West." "The region is under a semi-Arctic sun, where thrift, endurance, and the faculty of being content with little are called for."

AND LAST AND WORST OF ALL,

you have it suggested that this Siberia, with its semi-Arctic sun, is best fitted for those deadly enemies of the *Mail*, that race it fears so much, and whose institutions it desires to subvert, the French-Canadians! The French-Canadians, whom the *Mail* sometimes wants to send to the North Pole, and sometimes to a much warmer, but even less agreeable climate. (Cheers and laughter.)

Now, I am not going to discuss the accuracy of these statements. *They may be true, even though the Mail has said them.* (Laughter.)

But, if it were I who had said them, how would the Tories rage, and the heathen imagine a vain thing? (Loud and prolonged laughter.) And so I leave the subject. I THINK IT IS WORTH DISCUSSING AS AN EXEMPLIFICATION OF TORY TRUTHFULNESS, TORY PATRIOTISM, AND TORY FAIR PLAY. THE TRUTH IS, THAT WHILE THE TORIES HAVE BEEN SPENDING THEIR TIME CIRCULATING SLANDERS ABOUT ME, THE LIBERAL PARTY HAS BEEN DOING ITS BEST TO PROMOTE THE REAL INTERESTS OF THE NORTH-WEST, AND TO AVERT THE ILLS OF TORY RULE. (Loud cheers.)

(8)

A SEA OF MOUNTAINS.

MR. BLAKE REPLIES TO HIS ACCUSERS.

Eleven Years of Calumny borne in silence—The time for Speech has come—A complete answer to the Stock Tory Charge, "Want of Patriotism."

Hon. EDWARD BLAKE, in the course of his speech at Listowel, said:—It has occurred to me that it might be well to take a minute to point out some of the misrepresentations and perversions of my words; and some of the unjust attacks made upon me by the Tories for words said—attacks which have done them excellent service for years, in the sort of war they wage. Sometimes *they pervert and distort an innocent phrase* I may have used; and so make me out a wrong-doer. Sometimes,

WITHOUT ALTERING THE PHRASE,

they treat it, though true and innocent, as if it were false and criminal. The sentence I am going to discuss to-night is a very short one; and I must admit I am correctly quoted, though with an inaccurate context. Doubtless you all have heard of the high crime and misdemeanour I committed ten or twelve years ago in describing the mainland of British Columbia through which the Canadian Pacific Railway was to pass, as a "sea of mountains." I said it but once. Yet it has been constantly in the newspapers and in the mouths of Tory orators ever since. (Laughter.) The Tory newspapers have spoken of me here, there, and everywhere, as having committed a most outrageous act in calling British Columbia a sea of mountains, and I observe that both Sir John Macdonald and Mr. White when they were at Victoria the other day referred once and again to this outrage of mine. They have done all they could to create prejudice and hostility against me on the part of my fellow-countrymen in the western portion of the Dominion because I called British Columbia a sea of mountains. I did call it a "sea of mountains;" that is quite true; but I did so in this connection and under these circumstances: I was speaking in 1874 of the bargain made by Sir John Macdonald to construct the railway within a limited time; I was pointing out the difficulties attending its construction; and discussing British Columbia from an engineering point of view, as a country through which the railway was to be pushed, I called it a sea of mountains. *And now after eleven years, I repeat the phrase, and maintain its*

fitness. The phrase was not, as you all know, original—it was not my own invention. That was not pretended. But how as to its application to British Columbia? Well! I am afraid

I CAN'T EVEN CLAIM CREDIT FOR ORIGINALITY

in that. I am afraid I cannot honestly say I was the first person to apply the term “sea of mountains” to British Columbia. Where shall you find it earlier? Whence was it drawn? I will tell you. Look at a book called “FROM OCEAN TO OCEAN,” the record of Mr. Sandford Fleming’s expedition as a Government officer, as engineer-in-chief of the Canadian Pacific Railway under the Tory Government in 1872, look at this book, the diary of the secretary of that expedition, a Government officer, the Rev. George M. Grant, now widely known as Principal Grant of Queen’s University, Kingston; look at this book, *copies of which were distributed by the Tory Government free of charge*; copies of which were supplied to the members of Parliament at the expense of the public, because *it was thought of public consequence that it should be widely read.* Look, I say, at this book, and you will find the reverend secretary declare in the preface that he tells “a round unvarnished tale,” and expresses the hope that “its truthfulness may compensate for its defects,” and then turn to the description of British Columbia and you will hear him state:—

“THE GREATER PART OF THE MAINLAND IS A SEA OF MOUNTAINS.”

(Cheers and laughter.) Am I then to blame for adopting the phrase of the Tory Government officer in describing the country, as found on a Government expedition to spy out the land in regard to its railway characteristics? No! Let them go crucify Dr. Grant! (Cheers and laughter.) Once again let me refer you to a very lively work, Lord Dufferin’s *Travels in British Columbia*, admirably written by Mr. Molyneux St. John, of which the title, strange to say, is, “The Sea of Mountains.” (Cheers and laughter.) The author says:—

In Victoria they have taken with bad grace Mr. Blake’s perfectly justifiable remark about “A Sea of Mountains.” But he might with perfect truth have spoken of Bute Inlet as a sea of mountains in a gale of wind.

(Cheers and laughter.) Again, I find in a recent issue of a periodical of very extensive circulation an article speaking of the Canadian Pacific Railway and its route, in the most laudatory terms in every point of view, so laudatory that the uncharitable might even be tempted to suppose that it was in some degree inspired, a

DESCRIPTION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Let me read some extracts from it:—

Into the Province of British Columbia are packed together in half a dozen stupendous ranks, separated by narrow valleys, all the mountain ranges in Western America. We cross in succession the Rockies, the Selkirks, the Gold, Okanagan, and coast ranges by a route 650 miles in length, though the breadth measured in a straight line hardly exceeds 400 miles, and during the whole time are in the midst of snow-crowned monarchs.

Here, then, are 650 miles of mountains heaped against, and over one another in Titanic masses, ever present to the traveller, and ever changing its aspect, a "great sea of mountains" that can be likened to no other on earth. Rising more than two miles above the sea, these mountains are cleft to the base by the passes that are followed by the railway, and their whole dizzy height is seen at once. Far up on their shoulders, in full view from the train, rest many glaciers, by the side of which those of the Alps would be insignificant.

For thirty-two hours the traveller rolls along this great and varied mountain panorama without losing the wonderful scene for a minute.

Lastly, in the report of the Directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway for 1886, I find the statement that the "Company had built 2,400 miles of railway, embracing in the Lake Superior and Mountain sections"—they call the part through British Columbia the "Mountain section"—they had built "many hundreds of miles of the most difficult railway work to be found on either side of the Atlantic." Now, if it were the fact that I had been betrayed out of my own head into the use of too strong a phrase, of a phrase which, being exaggerated, was thought unjust and harmful to British Columbia, would you not expect from such patriots as the Tories, who are constantly deprecating the utterance even of truth if it be disagreeable to them, on the score of its being injurious to the country, *would you not, I say, expect from these patriots silence as to my slip, instead of that constant parade of it year in and year out, that persistent keeping of it before the public, that forcing of it into the widest circulation that blazoning it abroad over the world, that rolling of it as a sweet morsel under their tongues, which you have witnessed these many years?* If harm could come of it, that harm was one to be intensified a thousandfold by their action. But they did not care! They wanted only to get a slap at me, regardless of the harm, which, on their own showing, they were doing to the country! But I made no slip. Least of all did I make a slip of which they could complain. They have at last, by their attacks in Victoria, induced me to speak again. I made no slip. I used the words of their own officer, found in the book they sent me for my information. And

HIS WORDS WERE TRUE.

If I have not shown you that according to the common usages of speech, and on the faith of Dr. Grant's book, I was justified in describing the mainland of British Columbia, from a railway point of view, by the well-known phrase, "a sea of mountains," I shall despair of convincing you of aught else to-night. And if I have felt constrained at length to bring forward my justification, and thus, for the second time to use that well-worn phrase, I trust you will admit that eleven years of abuse, culminating in a series of attacks at Victoria, by the Ministers of the Crown, justify my speaking now, and throw the dreadful consequences—if dreadful consequences there be—on the heads of my accusers, who are, as I have shown, *themselves the persons really responsible for the whole business.* (Loud and prolonged applause.)

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